Vol. XXIX. No. 113 *March 1940*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon Heresy — *Michael Tierney*

II. Social Function of a Gaelic Ruler .. — *Gerard Murphy*

III. Father Thomas A. Finlay, S.J. .. — *George O'Brien*

IV. Anglo-Italian Friendship .. .. — *Denis Gwynn*

V. Russian Spirituality .. .. — *Donald Attwater*

VI. Richard Kirwan : Part III .. — *P. J. McLaughlin*

VII. New Light on the "Imitation of Christ" — *Aubrey Gwynn*

VIII. Irish Catholic Colonies in the U.S.A. — *Mary G. Kelly*

IX. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 53 .. .. — *Lambert McKenna*

X. Templemoyle Agricultural Seminary — *David Kennedy*

XI. One Hundred Years of Jesuit Missions — *Albericus*

XII. Reviews of Books

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THOMAS VINCENT MURPHY.
JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL.
STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE.
HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 30 Westmoreland Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of January 1940.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1939, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£33,602 7 10	
To which has to be added :—		
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	28,629 2 11	
	£62,231 10 9	
The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :—		
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500 0 0	
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	7,500 0 0	
To next Account	27,231 10 9	
	£62,231 10 9	

The Reserve Fund remains at £740,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL and MR. STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect Auditors for the ensuing year. MESSRS KEAN & COMPANY, the present Auditors, offer themselves for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 15*th January*, 1940.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1939. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ..	1,166,060 8 6
,, Reserve Fund	740,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz.:—	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0 *Less*: Held by the Bank ... 51,063 0 0	498,937 0 0	War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	4,798,235 2 8
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,658,164 10 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	233,252 19 8
,, Sundry Agents	32,144 17 11		£6,197,548 10 10
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,415 5 9	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,111,541 5 5
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	62,231 10 9	,, Sundry Agents	25,960 18 10
		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	160,842 9 4
	£12,495,893 4 5		£12,495,893 4 5

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1939.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	114,135 5 3	By Balance from last Account ...	28,629 2 11
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1940. subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0		,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	147,737 13 1
,, Bank Premises Account ... 7,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,231 10 9	62,231 10 9		
	£176,366 16 0		£176,366 16 0

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1939, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 15th January, 1940.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
JAMES F. BOYDELL,
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} *Directors.*

HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager*

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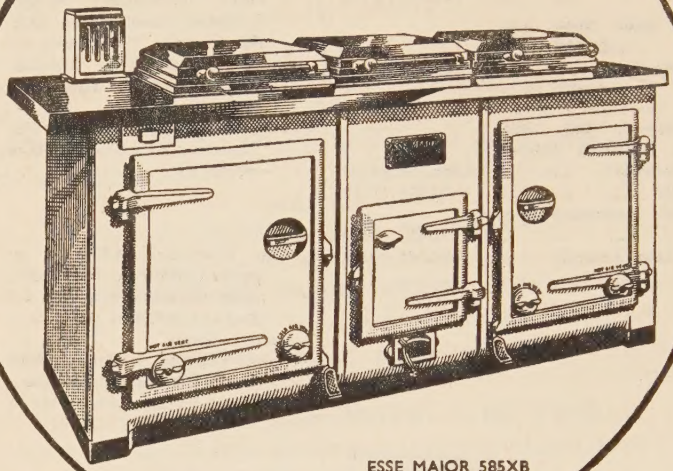

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VOL. XXIX No. 113

STUDIES

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MARCH 1940

CONTENTS

			PAGE
I.	IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-SAXON HERESY	*Senator Michael Tierney, M.A.*	1
II.	THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF A GAELIC RULER	*Gerard Murphy, M.A.*	15
III.	FATHER THOMAS A. FINLAY, S.J. ...	*Professor George O'Brien, D.Litt.*	27
IV.	ANGLO-ITALIAN FRIENDSHIP	*... Denis Gwynn, D.Litt.*	41
V.	RUSSIAN SPIRITUALITY	*Donald Attwater*	59
VI.	RICHARD KIRWAN: PART III	*Rev. Professor P. J. McLaughlin, D.Sc.*	71
VII.	NEW LIGHT ON THE "IMITATION OF CHRIST"	*Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	84
VIII.	IRISH CATHOLIC COLONIES IN THE U.S.A.	*Sister Mary G. Kelly, O.P.*	95
IX.	IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 53	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	111
X.	TEMPLEMOYLE AGRICULTURAL SEMINARY ...	*David Kennedy, M.Sc.*	119
XI.	ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF JESUIT MISSIONS ...	... *Albericus*	126

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Gründung der neuen Jesuitenmission durch General Pater Johann Philipp Roothaan, 127.—Archaeology and Society, 137.—Torquemada, 139.—Saint John Chrysostom, 141.—Life and Times of Saint Basil the Great as Revealed in his Works, 141.—Lebor Gabála Erenn, 143.—History of the Delphic Oracle, 145.—Ambiguity in Greek Literature, 145.—Greek Tragedy, 147.—The Economic History of Live Stock in Ireland, 149.—An Outline History of the Catholic Church, 151.—Catholic Education: Vital Problems in the United States, 152.—History of Europe, 1715-1814, 153.—A Map of Old English Monasteries, 154.—Histoire de l'Eglise, 155.—The Irish Theatre, 156.—Killycreggs in Twilight and Other Plays, 156.—Three Plays, 156.—The Star Turns Red, 156.—The Stage Irishman, 156.—Time's Wall Asunder, 160.—Earth out of Earth, 162.—Littérature irlandaise contemporaine, 163.—Manuel de la Littérature catholique, 164.—Catholic Literary France from Verlaine to the Present Time, 164.—Anthologie de la Renaissance catholique, 164.—Le Problème religieux et l'Histoire de la Littérature francaise, 164.—Le Renouveau marial dans la Littérature francaise, 164.—Modern German Literature, 165.—For Democracy, 167.—Politics and Morality, 167.—Physico-chemical Methods, 169.—The Philosophy of Physical Science, 170.—Christian Philosophy, 172.—Was der Seelsorger von nervösen Seelenleiden wissen muss, 174.—Nervous Mental Diseases, 174.—Traité de Psychiâtrie, 174.

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IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-SAXON HERESY

BY SENATOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

WHATEVER may be the ultimate results of the present European war, it has already confirmed the conclusions which the most far-sighted and clear-headed social and political thinkers have long since drawn from the vicissitudes and bewilderments of the past ten years. They have been pointing out that the new order established by the Peace of Versailles was fundamentally unstable because it was based upon ideas and doctrines which, while they seemed to have become part of universal civilised thought during the nineteenth century, were out of harmony with the actual movement of history and incapable of satisfying the real needs of humanity. In a very able and candid book *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, written just before the war began, Professor E. H. Carr has described these doctrines as utopian, a term which may be briefly interpreted as implying a belief in the possibility of attaining noble ends by inadequate or irrelevant means.

The utopianism of the nineteenth century, which reached its highest pitch in the person of Woodrow Wilson and in his contribution to the settlement of Versailles, was itself the product of the earlier religious revolution which divided Christendom, destroyed European unity, and gave birth to the omnipotent national state. It went hand in hand with a whole series of very powerful movements in science, political philosophy, and economics, all alike teaching that the spiritual is somehow the product of the material, that quality is subordinate to quantity, and that the good of society is the sum of individual satisfactions. The real tragedy of the present gloomy epoch is not the prevalence of aggression, the crushing of weaker nationalities, or the sudden terrifying alliance between two forms of tyranny which a few months ago seemed, to so many victims of a fatuous propaganda, to be as irrecon-

cilable as the ultimate principles of good and evil. Such portents, for all their fearsomeness, are only symptoms of the disastrous breakdown which has shattered the foundations of modern materialist, commercialist, and nationalist society, and left the heirs of the complacent Victorian age groping in the dark for a new foothold.

The neutrality of Éire, while it affords us the nightmarish satisfaction of looking on in comparative safety at horrors we can do nothing to prevent, should not cause us to imagine that, apart from certain commercial disadvantages, we are entirely immune from the catastrophe. In spite of our geographical and spiritual remoteness, and of our capacity for transmuting every external influence into something peculiarly Irish, we have been long ago forced to conform to the general pattern of European society. Indeed our position between England and America has rendered us in some ways more susceptible than other peoples to the Puritan and Evangelical ideas which they have shared, and upon which the modern world is so largely built. The Catholicism to which we owe almost all that remains of our individuality as a people has not been so strong a defence against Puritanism and Evangelicalism as might at first sight be expected. On the one hand, our education has been almost altogether along English lines, and we have long since become more assimilated to the type of the happy English child than we perhaps always realise. On the other hand, we have admitted into our inmost souls and made part of ourselves a power which has indeed helped us greatly, but which came to us almost altogether from English and American sources: nationalism. Over and above both these agencies, the typical ideas of the modern age—the belief in progress, the concentration on economics, the worship of parliamentary democracy, the pathetic faith in what is so euphemistically called popular education—all these and many more like them have been driven into us from every side so effectively that we take a pride in them and are almost ready at times to claim them for our own.

It is just this imposing complex of ideas, demonstrably of English origin in the form in which they have come to domi-

nate the world, that is not alone threatened by England's present enemy, but is already declared by the best thinkers in England itself to have lost its power. When Professor Carr admits the inefficacy and even the danger of utopianism in international affairs, he is in effect admitting that the age ushered in by the Revolution of 1688, the age of English dominance, is at an end. His diagnosis is of far wider import than he seems to realise, perhaps because he keeps his eyes fixed on the narrow field of international relations. We are witnessing what may be the final stage in the rapid failure of a whole materialist philosophy of life. Whether or not we are destined to see substituted for it a more spiritual and therefore more human and more successful philosophy which will mould the world in its turn, is a question we cannot yet answer. Professor Carr suggests that what is needed most at the moment is a more realist approach to international problems : the substitution of less grandiose aims and more adequate implements for the Wilsonian dream of an Anglo-Saxon world-order to be kept in being by the fictitious device of a pseudo-democratic world parliament. In putting forward realism as a substitute for utopianism he takes a step which inevitably brings him nearer to the Catholic standpoint and reminds us, perhaps incongruously, of the attitude of the Catholic priest to sin as contrasted with the illusory fervour of the professional Baptist organiser of anti-vice campaigns in a novel by Sinclair Lewis. His realism, however, with all its healthy insistence on a clear-eyed and objective historical approach to his problem, seems to culminate in an empirical morality which would be a very slight improvement upon the utopianism he seeks to banish.

The fact is that modern Western civilisation has reached a point where it must transform itself if it is to be saved from its own vices. The transformation must necessarily imply more than a mere choice, from the whole system which has failed, of ideas and institutions which will work. No mere rule of thumb method, even if aided by the most perfect historical scholarship, will suffice for the positive task of creation which now confronts the Western world. The new

basis must be a complete philosophy with a firm foundation in the ancient system of morals taken over from the Greeks and perfected by the Christian Church. It is a dire illusion, and itself a survival from the wreckage of materialist utopianism, to suppose that any workable substitute can be found by experimental methods. The task that faces mankind is therefore as much a task of restoration as of creation; but, in its working-out, historical and empirical methods will surely find their full place. It will require a thorough study and understanding of the historical developments which have brought the world to its present condition, as well as a sure moral criterion which will enable us to judge them. History and philosophy together must build the dwelling in which the new Europe will live.

In this task of restoration and reconstruction each nation, according to its capacities, will have its part to play. Owing to our comparative immunity, we in Ireland may be able, if we set about the work in the right spirit, to contribute more than our mere size would seem to make possible. We can do so far better by example than by preaching; by setting our own house in order better than by advising or criticising others. The collapse, not only of the world-order in which we have enjoyed nineteen years of independence, but of the system of ideas to which that order owed its existence, would seem to present us with a valuable opportunity for doing some positive thinking on our own account. So far, we have rather passively carried on with ideas inherited from our revolutionary past or allowed ourselves to be borne along by general European tendencies, than tried very hard to understand our position or to work out any clear constructive plan for our future. Partly as a result of this passivity and partly because of our absorption in the exigencies of party politics, we find ourselves after nineteen years in a state of considerable incoherence, pulled in several different directions at once by forces which we have called into being without being aware of their mutual contradictions. We talk a good deal about a national philosophy, but what passes for such among us is really a remnant of revolutionary agitations, a

makeshift knocked together in a hurry and far more effective as a destructive weapon than as a constructive instrument.

In this respect Irish nationalism is only one more illustration of the weaknesses which have beset its kindred phenomena everywhere in Europe and the world. We cannot too soon get it into our heads that nationalism as such is a child of the French and English revolutions. Its whole nature is intrinsically destructive, and its historic role has been to clear the ground of the ancient local traditions which made a barrier against the entry of the materialist and commercialist philosophy now in its sudden death-agony. It is true that nationalism, influenced by the Romantic movement which coincided with it, regularly took under its wing the popular traditions, poetry, and music of the countries where it worked. This accounts for the literary activity of the *Nation* group in Ireland, for example. But in most cases, when nationalism succeeded in its aim of creating an independent nation-state, what triumphed was not the folk or its traditions, but the industrial and commercial middle-class; and everywhere, even in the case of such a man as Sun-Yat-Sen in China, this class became the spear-head of the dominant materialist world-philosophy, whether in an English or an American guise. As a means for preserving a local culture or a traditional order of society and way of life, nationalism has been a universal failure, often to the great disappointment of genuine traditionalists who adopted it without understanding its true character.

Among Irish nationalists of the present generation, this character has been to a great extent disguised by the alliance between Gaelicism and revolution, an alliance which goes back in a rudimentary form to the *Nation* group through the Fenians, and to which P. H. Pearse gave its classic expression. Uniting as it did the still living instinct of the people for their historic racial traditions and native language with the explosive force of a movement which had its roots in the rationalist and very anti-traditional philosophy of the eighteenth century, this alliance has shown itself to be immensely powerful, and very few will now be found to minimise

its value. There is, however, a considerable danger that its very success may turn into disaster once its work of necessary destruction is fairly done. Like all such movements it has a tendency to become doctrinaire, to cling to formulas which were created as weapons and to worship them as universal, all-sufficing truths. In a certain sense the same danger has always threatened the Marxian synthesis, which united elements even more disparate, if possible, than the teaching of Wolfe Tone and the native traditions of Ireland. The survivors of a successful revolution do not often show themselves capable of adapting the doctrines which have been the cause of their success to the exigencies of the new world these very doctrines have helped to create. Every new generation must make its own synthesis, most of all if its task differs entirely from those faced by its predecessors. Our veneration for the heroes of the past should not cause us to shut out from our minds the need for a fresh, critical, objective, and open-eyed scrutiny of our history and the problems with which it presents us. Ireland, like the world at large, has its utopians, and the past nineteen years have shown pretty conclusively that utopianism in national affairs is quite as disappointing as in international.

We should do well to apply, in our own limited area, the realism recommended so convincingly by Professor Carr to European statesmen. One of the penalties inseparable from nationalist agitation is that it must, in order to penetrate the mass-opinion through which it necessarily works, express itself in very simple terms. If its doctrine be too subtle or too well qualified, it is a certain failure, and its most successful agents are the men who most easily accept its simple theses and turn them into action. But nemesis comes when the fight is over and it is time to produce constructive results. We are all too familiar with the claim that because a man believes passionately in such a formula as " Up the Republic !' he is thereby qualified to remould our civilisation. The Irish are better at action than at theory, and though given to criticism, they can hardly be said to produce critics of the philosophical or historical type in great numbers. Probably

the chief cause of the stagnant condition in which we now find ourselves is that so many of our would-be nation-builders have come to the front mainly by reason, not of education or deep wisdom, but of the strong convictions induced in them by propagandist weekly papers. Policies which derive their inspiration from such sources are bound to prove in the long run disappointing even to the masses. Too often leaders so inspired turn out to have all along been the unconscious allies of the very same hostile forces which they have vehemently denounced without taking enough time, or being gifted with enough capacity, to understand what they were denouncing. If the Irish people are in earnest about producing a new civilisation or recreating an old one, they will have to bring to the task less passion and a much greater degree of knowledge and understanding than they have done so far.

Dissection is not in itself a very agreeable occupation, but it is the essential pre-requisite for all practical medical skill as well as for medical science. There are some nationalists who find the criticism of what are sometimes, by a significant misuse of language, called " the national pieties " almost as distasteful as the young medical student finds the work of the anatomy theatre. But it is none the less necessary, and as it concerns only ideas, it need involve no irreverence or disrespect for persons. The time has surely come when we are entitled to probe into the composite body of ideas upon which Pearse put the last creative touches, to separate its component parts from one another, and to recognise them for what they are. Pearse's vivid and glowing nationalism, which inspired the successful struggle against England, has acted since 1921 as a kind of dead hand retarding true national progress precisely because his genius succeeded just at the right moment in fusing together two elements of entirely opposite origins—Gaelicism and nationalism—and because the fusion inevitably broke into its elements when the work for which it was intended was done.

Gaelicism, if it means anything more than the cult of a mere linguistic algebra, is a matter of tradition, a way of life which goes back to the old world before Puritanism and

its various products assumed their sway over mankind. Historically speaking, in fact, it stands for the cause which went down at Aughrim and Culloden; for Andrew Lang's lines are equally true of both these lost battles:

"Not for Tearlach alone the red claymore was plying
But to bring back the old life that comes not again."

Nationalism, on the other hand, stands for everything most aggressively "modern." Its aim is the establishment of the semi-divine nation-state, the setting up of a thoroughly materialist economic system, the abolition not merely of foreign control, but of every native tradition not in harmony with the drastic utilitarian ideas of the urban middle-class. No doubt this is a shocking indictment to those devoted nationalists who see behind all our ills the bloodstained hand of England, and cannot grasp the fact that all the fundamental articles of their own fervent creed had their origin in the revolution of glorious, pious and immortal memory.

It is not in the least to be wondered at that two such antipathetic forces as these should fail to run very successfully in harness. That they have not proved comfortable partners is obviously beyond denial, and one of the first tasks which present themselves to the constructive critic is to account for this fact. If there is another explanation besides their incompatibility, it would be most valuable to have it put forward. Irish utopians regularly refuse to admit that there is any trouble at all, and as if to reduce themselves to absurdity by their own actions, keep on insisting that Wolfe Tone was a true Gael and that our democratic constitution is a restoration of the Gaelic state, with many similar mysteries, belief in which calls for an act of intellectual suicide. There is no more hope that such patent unrealities can be made to work than there was in the Wilsonian blend of Puritanism and rationalism with faith in democracy. Just as the effort to keep the Wilsonian system going in the teeth of reality has brought Europe back to where it started, so the effort to keep up Pearse's mystic union of Gaeldom and Whiggery has left Ireland static, if indeed she has not

actually receded in the spiritual sense during her nineteen years of freedom. On the one hand, the philosophy of Gaeldom itself has been wavering and incoherent, and its official spokesmen have been more interested in furthering political or economic revolution than in trying to give it clarity or content. On the other hand, the social, economic, and political framework imposed upon our new state by its nationalist origin has been so radically true to type that real Gaeldom could only wither away beneath its weight more rapidly even than before.

I take it as a tribute to my own instinctive Gaelic reactions that I was shocked during a recent debate to hear a Labour Senator deprecate any interference with *Habeas Corpus* because it is one of the pillars of British liberty. My protest—made, it must be confessed, without much hope of being comprehended—elicited a long lecture from another Senator on the blessings of Magna Carta and the greatness of its authors. There is some evidence for the view that the importance of Magna Carta in English constitutional history has been a little exaggerated, but that is not the point. The episode has its interest as throwing light on the principles upon which not alone our state, but much of our best-informed opinion, takes its stand. These principles are those of the English Whiggery which triumphed over the Stuart monarchy in 1688-91, and from which at a later date and in a strange way revolutionary Irish nationalism was derived. Much more is in question here than matters of constitutional or legal theory. Our laws are all drawn from an English source, our legislature and legal procedure, our system of holding property, our whole industrial organisation, and practically all our ideas and methods in dealing with social questions, public health, housing, unemployment, even education itself, have the same origin. What is more important than all these things is the fact that with them we have inherited the materialist, utilitarian, commercial, and thoroughly anti-historical spirit of the English middle-class to which the Whig oligarchy has been long ago assimilated. When Napoleon called the English a nation of shopkeepers he was

uttering a profound historical condemnation which his conquerors accepted as a compliment. Since his time civilisation, in the sense hitherto universally understood, has given place in England to material comfort, without religion, without poetry, without art, and with a party-mythology doing duty for a historical tradition. We have been so immensely fortunate as to have preserved our religion; but who can say that we have preserved much else?

Under the pressure of this highly uncongenial atmosphere there has lately grown up a strange pseudo-Gaelicism which, finding the modern world too strong to be rejected, has adopted it with some determination. Most Irish nationalists are forced in practice to accept the thesis that Irish history begins, not perhaps with Daniel O'Connell, but no earlier at any rate than Wolfe Tone, though not many are conscious of so doing. Born into a politically successful but intellectually bewildered English-speaking and English-thinking Ireland, how can they help themselves? The new Gaelicism is a less practical variant of this enforced submission to necessity. Devoted to the language in itself, and still more to the desire for a medium of expression other than English, its champions wish simply to use it as an instrument of materialist, commercialist, and middle-class life, and have little if any use for its literature or traditions except as providing a storehouse of rather old-fashioned and inadequate words and idioms. It goes without saying that this policy offers even less hope for the survival either of the language or the native traditions than did the alliance with nationalism which has already proved so dubious. To revive Irish as the medium of a very valuable historical and cultural influence is a difficult enough task, which has been made infinitely more difficult by the violent intrusion of nationalist political ideas with their various implications. To suppose that you can restore it merely as a language and at the same time make it the vehicle of an urban, mechanical, materialist way of life, for which English is infinitely more suited, is to indulge in the most futile and unattractive of day-dreams. It would be more rational to adopt some artificial jargon like Esperanto

for a purpose the essence of which is to get rid of English as a system of linguistic counters while keeping and intensifying everything that English expresses already with considerable adequacy. In any case, Irish so transformed would bear very little resemblance to the language as hitherto known.

The standard criticism, perhaps more often implicit than outspoken, of the whole policy of reviving Gaelic is that as the idiom of a vanished world it is out of all harmony with the needs of present-day life. To this criticism there are two possible answers. Either we accept present-day life as a norm, and in so doing choose between abandoning the Gaelic cause as hopeless and adapting the language to uses for which it can only be adapted by altering it out of recognition; or we face squarely up to the other horn of the dilemma, and set on foot a rational inquiry as to whether we can bring our Irish world into greater harmony with the traditional spirit and idiom of the historic Irish people. The second alternative is generally rejected out of hand or side-tracked by the sort of mystification about Wolfe Tone's Gaelicism or our Gaelic constitution to which reference has already been made. Before we reject it out of hand, we ought to give the subject much more serious consideration than we have as yet done. As has been suggested, there is abundant evidence that "modernity" is not altogether as sure of itself now as it was in the days of Lord Macaulay. Apart from the inescapable collapse of which the present European calamity is the symptom, we all more or less realise that here in Ireland the institutions, ideas, and practices associated with Anglo-Saxon civilisation have not proved an unmitigated blessing even since we acquired self-government. We should at least be capable of examining them, if only as a useful intellectual exercise, apart altogether from our capacity to change them. Indeed it is certain that whatever we succeed in doing after such a theoretical examination, we can do nothing at all without it except drift, as we have been doing, more or less in the direction of Hollywood.

If only we can be got to take the first step towards constructive self-criticism by realising that nationalism, parlia-

mentary democracy, and industrialism are closely kindred products of the same heresy and were imposed on the western world, not by the inevitable laws of beneficent progress, but by a disastrous revolutionary break with the old Christian traditions of Europe, the ground will at least have been cleared of the obstructions that at present seem almost to make all healthy thinking on such matters impossible. Not the least of our present dangers is the prevalence of a tendency to diagnose all social evils as merely economic and to seek remedies for them in economic or financial panaceas which are merely the ultimate aberrations of materialism. The trouble with most of our reformers is that their means for reform is almost invariably just a hair of the dog that bit us: nationalism, "social credit," a state bank, protection, more rapid industrialisation, and so on. We have even been offered that last infirmity of parliamentarism in its dotage, proportional representation, as a balm for all our political ills. All the time our real trouble is not some bogey outside ourselves but our most everyday habits and the most familiar contents of our own minds, which have been thoroughly conditioned by long treatment with the drugs of materialism and commercialism. The Gaelic world was a world of immemorial aristocratic tradition; ours is one where the towns are slightly more picturesque replicas of Main Street and the country is becoming rapidly uninhabitable, principally for the reason that it has been cut off fom its own culture. Here is a lesson which we should take thoroughly to heart; that the materialist industrialism of the past two centuries has been uniformly deadly to agriculture. It has almost entirely destroyed it in England and is in process of doing so in America, as certain recent novels make painfully clear. We have only partially escaped the destruction, and there are signs that it is in fact more advanced here than we realise. Furthermore, the danger is not simply from *English* industrialism; our native variety, fostered on the plea of employment, is plainly quite capable of finishing the process it did not begin.

So inured is the modern mind to the habit of regarding

industrialism as entirely benevolent and as the semi-divine agent of progress, that it may seem shocking to suggest putting drastic checks on its advance. Economists, until very recently, insisted with great vehemence that, because they very soundly had made their science into an empirical study, it was illegitimate for anyone to approach the same phenomena from the standpoint of moral choice. It is a symptom of the breakdown of materialism that this insistence has largely died away; but echoes of it are still to be heard in disquisitions about such topics as the "standard of living" and in books such as a quite recent work on the agriculture of Eastern Europe, which deplored the backwardness of the Rumanian peasant because he has so many fast days and is therefore a low consumer. The standard of living is invariably measured by the quantity and speed with which goods are consumed, and high consumption is blandly equated with high civilisation. The fact is, of course, that economists, whose business is the study of the laws of wealth, have no qualifications at all to prescribe standards of civilisation, which are moral and aesthetic. It is after all no accident that the lowest level of morality and art since the Stone Age should have been reached during the heyday of economic science, or that modern aesthetes should be turning to the art of the Sudan for a relief from the horrors of industrial England. Professor Carr speaks on almost his last page of the likelihood that in the new realist world the economic motive will have lost its dominance. If it cannot be made subject to higher motives, then mankind is doomed, for this unchecked passion for quantity and speed is the fatal vice of the age. We are indeed beginning to grasp the possibility of such control, and "economic laws" are no longer equated with divine commandments; but as yet, unfortunately, moralists and aesthetic critics have left this field to purveyors of nostrums which are as bad as the disease.

The tiny states of ancient Greece were able to reach a far higher level of civilisation than we can pretend to on the basis of a material equipment which even we in Ireland would regard as implying a ridiculously low standard of life. This

applies not only to Athens but to much poorer communities such as the islanders of Samos or Ceos. Living before the gospel of inevitable progress and the inviolability of economic laws was ever heard of, these communities maintained their culture and provided, as Pindar says of Ceos, " no small share of the Muse " by the strictest regulation of their economic life and the most stringent sumptuary rules. They put life first and money-making nowhere, a scale of values which the modern world has entirely reversed. Full and clear consideration of our problems might well make us also realise that, if we are to survive as a people and contribute anything to the world, we may have to do without amenities we now regard as essential, such as motor-cars, wireless-sets, or the cinema. We might also begin to understand that, if we really want the things that make for civilisation, we must provide for them. In the commercial world there is no place for the scholar, the historian, the poet, or the artist ; all are expected to come into existence by way of the law of supply and demand, which means that they either do not come at all or are compelled to live by pandering to the taste of the largest market. It is a strange commentary on the use we have so far made of our freedom that we have scarcely any students of Irish history, ancient of modern, in our universities, and that while multitudes acquire enough Irish to pass a qualifying examination for some position, there are less now in training for scholarship than twenty years ago. Poetry, whether in Irish or English, gets little or no recognition, being regarded as a useless oddity, and I recently heard a distinguished musical expert declare that the only country which reaches our own low level in music is Turkey. It would be easy to make similar comparisons with regard to the other arts, except those which have an accidental money-value. The only hope for Ireland, as for Europe at large, is that her youth may be induced to devote their energies and enthusiasm, which have so long been wasted for material ends, on the things of the spirit.

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THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF A GAELIC RULER

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I

IN the Ostig section of his *Hebrides* Samuel Johnson has described the Gaelic "laird" in Scotland as being essentially "the father of the clan." At the same time he foresaw and feared the day when changes introduced into the system by an unsympathetic English government would cause these "lairds" gradually to degenerate "from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords." Samuel Johnson was a man of keen perception and sound judgment; he was writing after several months of personal experience of the Hebridean way of life; it is not, then, without significance that for him there was a great difference between the patriarchal ruler whom he believed to be typical of traditional Gaelic society and the rapacious landlord who flourished in post-Gaelic Scotland and Ireland.

The eighteenth-century landlord in Ireland collected rents from his tenants. In so far as he too was a receiver of rent the Gaelic chieftain resembled the landlord, though it is important to remember that his rents were mainly in "victuals" and that "of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning" (Spenser, *View*, 1890, p. 71). To counterbalance the rent-burden, however, chieftains, as distinct from the landlords who succeeded them, had at least one helpful function which, by reason of the warlike times in which they flourished, was obvious to all: if the chieftain, according to Spenser's phrase,[1] "spent" the country, he "defended" it too, and reference to the unwelcome *caitheamh* or 'spending' is almost always

[1] Spenser's *View* (1890 ed., p. 71): "For their common saying is 'Spend me and defend me.'" Sir Henry Piers (late 17th century) finds that the Gaelic lords "were of old, and still are, oppressive of their tenants and followers." He complains, however, that on the other hand they go beyond their duty "to preserve them from the wrongs or injuries of others" and actually aid them to withhold their dues and debts from others, so that "it is a common saying on the mouthes of many farmers, 'What boots me to have a landlord if he defend me not in my just and unjust causes?'" (Nat. Lib. of I. MS. 412, pp. 115, 116).

in Irish literature[1] softened by immediate reference to the much-desired *cosnamh* or 'defending.'

This insistence on the duty of defence undoubtedly encouraged the continuance of a warlike spirit in Gaelic chieftains and their followers—"Storming a gap, carrying off spoils: it delights the heart to mention them,"[2] said a poet praising an O'Dowd by reason of his descent from warlike ancestors, for he had regretfully to admit that the O'Dowd in question was living in times too peaceful to permit the meriting of war-praise in his own right.

The function of defence thus seems to postulate the disease of war and tends to foster a warlike spirit. Had the Gaelic chieftain any function less dangerous in the spirit it fostered and of value even to a healthy community? He undoubtedly had. Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, for instance, writing in the sixteenth century, had more than warlike prowess in mind when he set service of his subjects as an ideal before a candidate for kingship:

Tú ar toil cháigh is cách dod thoil,
tú ós cách is cách uasoibh,

'Thou at the service of all, and all submitting to thee; thou above everyone, and everyone above thee.'[3]

Included in that general service would have been the care of the destitute:

Do bhanntraichean 's do dhìleachdain,
gur h-e do nì-sa dh'fhuasgladh orr',[4]

said the Scottish Iain Dubh of a late-seventeenth-century MacDonald chieftain;

Tobar lachta na n-anbhfann tréith-lag,
bó na mbocht 's a ndorus aonair,[5]

said the metaphor-loving Egan O'Rahilly about the same period of a Munster O'Mahony.

[1] *e.g.*: Cath Mhaighe Léna (ed. Jackson, 1938), ll. 1425, 1560; A Misc. of Ir. Proverbs (Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly), 403; Four Masters, *s.a.* 1395.

[2] T.C.D. MS. H.2.15b (Abbot-Gwynn catalogue no. 1317), p. 154: *léim bearna[n], creachfhoghal cion beat[h]og[h]ad[h] meanma[n] a maoidhiom[h].*

[3] Prof. Knott's ed. and tr., poem I, q. 55.

[4] MacKenzie, *Sàr-obair* (1841), p. 69. 'Your widows and your orphans, it is your wealth that used to relieve them.'

[5] "Fountain of milk for the weak and prostrate, cow of the poor and their only door" Dinneen and O'Donoghue's tr., Ir. Texts Soc., vol. III, 2nd ed., p. 63).

A more universal function of Gaelic chieftains, being neither a political nor an economic one, tends, however, to be forgotten by historians. In Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland the chieftain was the centre of the social life of the community to an extent which does not seem to have been usual in other aristocratically-ruled European countries. This social importance of the Gaelic lord came in part from his intimacy with those whom he governed :

> They would cause their minstrels, their servants, and varlets, to sit with them and to eat in their own dish and to drink of their cups . . . So the fourth day I ordained other tables to be covered in the hall, after the usage of England, and I made these four kings [O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Conor, MacMurrough] to sit at the high table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them, whereof, by seeming, they were displeased, and beheld each other and would not eat, and said how I would take from them their good usage wherein they had been nourished. (The chronicle of Froissart, tr. out of French by Sir J. Bourchier Lord Berners, annis 1523–25, vol. VI, London, 1903, p. 152.)

So wrote Froissart on the authority of an Irish-speaking English knight who had been liaison-officer, as it were, when Richard II visited Dublin in 1395 ; and in early-nineteenth-century Kerry, Mac Fínghin Dubh, last truly Gaelic chieftain to survive in Ireland, kept up the old tradition when he used to make Diarmuid na Bolgaighe Ó Séaghdha, though but a poor fisherman, sit at table with him because Diarmuid was a poet.[1] That the fishermen and peasants whose poetry was thus appreciated by the Gaelic gentry, were on their side equally appreciative of the poetry composed by their chieftains is suggested by the fact that verses made by Manus O'Donnell, lord of Ceinéal gConaill in the 16th century, and by Pierce Ferriter, lord of the Dingle peninsula in the 17th century, are still repeated in Donegal and the Blasket Islands.[2]

That there was nothing unbecoming in that intimacy between rich and poor will be readily believed by those who

[1] Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *Diarmuid na Bolgaighe agus a Chómhursain*, p. 15.

[2] Oral versions of a satirical quatrain by Manus O'Donnell on the Friars of Donegal have been recorded by Mr. H. Morris and referred to by Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly in his *Dánfhocail*, p. 28. A verse by Ferriter is cited from oral tradition both by Muiris Ó Súilleabháin in his *Fuche Bliain ag Fás* and by Tomás Ó Criomhthain on p. 12 of his *Dinnsheanchas na mBlascaodaí*.

are familiar with the Gaelic communities of modern times, where courtesy, love of poetry, intelligence, ease of manner, and ready wit, are as universal in the labourers' cottages as in the more spacious life of the farmhouse.[1]

Besides being intimate with his subjects and appreciative of their songs and poems, the Gaelic chieftain was close to his subjects in an even more essential way. His interests and the convention of life by which he and his family expressed their humanity were more akin to the interests and convention of the people whom he governed than is usual in the more rigidly class-divided civilizations of other lands.

In the late-seventeenth century, for instance, Sir Norman MacLeod, according to the testimony of Màiri nighean Alasdair Rùaidh, loved to listen to traditional Gaelic tales.[2] About the same period, listening to similar traditional tales, according to the testimony of Ó Bruadair,[3] was the delight of Irish privates in the guardhouses of King James's army. Likewise, the *crosántachi* chanted in a sixteenth-century castle with recondite yet amusing prose passages interspersed[4] would win the reciter goodwill and a gift from the lord, just as goodwill and alms were won from the eighteenth-century peasant by the *duine uasal bocht*[5] who recited a semi-metrical blessing interspersed with witty prose interpolations in deliberately stilted language. Again, Martin[6] has observed that the wives of St. Kilda fishermen were accustomed to make "doleful songs, which they call lamentations," when their husbands met with a fatal mischance. Those St. Kilda lamentations

[1] The antiquity of Gaelic peasant refinement is evident from the fact of its existence to-day. Had the Gaelic peasantry been boors in the sixteenth century, the disasters of the seventeenth and the misery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could only have plunged them deeper into boorishness. As subsidiary evidence may be cited Martin's words written at the beginning of the eighteenth century about the Scottish islanders: "They are generally a very sagacious people, quick of apprehension, and even the vulgar exceed all those of their rank and education I ever saw in any other country" (M. Martin, *A Description of the W. Islands of Scotland*, 2nd ed., 1716, p. 199). In Celtic Wales in the late 12th century Giraldus Cambrensis (*Descriptio Kambriae*, Lib. I, cap. xv) notices that "nature has given all in general, the least among the common people as well as the more important, boldness in speaking and confidence in replying in the presence of princes and nobles; we see that the Romans and Franks have this same gift of nature, but not the English, nor the Saxons from whom they are descended, nor the Germans."

[2] Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod, ed. by J. C. Watson (1934), l. 283.

[3] Poems, ed. Rev. J. C. MacErlean, S.J., Pt. III, p. 131, poem xx, q. 9.

[4] Poem 34 of Prof. Knott's ed. of Tadhg Dall's work is an example.

[5] An example may be found in R.I.A. MS. 24 L 16, p. 79.

[6] P. 294 of *l.c. supra* footnote 1.

made by St. Kilda wives about the opening of the eighteenth century are lost, but there is good reason to believe that did we possess them they would have differed little in human and poetic quality from the well-known lament, made on a like occasion in the eighteenth century by Eibhlín Dubh, grand-daughter of the great O'Donoghue of Glenflesk, for her husband Colonel Arthur O'Leary of the Austrian army,[1] just as that lament differs little in sincerity of human feeling, or in beauty and ease of expression, from the lament a nameless Kerry tailor composed in the last century for four women drowned gathering *duileasg* near Ventry, or from the Connacht peasant-girl's justly admired lament for Donnchadh Bán who was hanged by the English.[2]

Around and within the houses of these lords, who were intimate with their people and who thought and felt as they, used to congregate the teachers and entertainers of the Gaelic world. Harpers, historians, ollamhs, bards, reciters, story-tellers, jesters, gamesters, jugglers: it was in the courts, castles, and great houses that their art was nourished and received its highest reward, and our chief information about them comes from bardic poems, or from crosántachts, or from literary tales,[3] written for or about the nobility. "They come singly and in groups and in companies," says a poet describing the household of Maol Mórdha MacSweeney, who died in 1581:

Tig in t-aoinfhear, tig in tromdhámh,
tig in bhuidhean.[4]

And among those that come he lists "the gamester (*cearrbhach*), the juggler (*abhlóir*) . . . the stranger, the native . . . the jester (*crosán*), the poet." Later in the same *crosántacht* he tells that in Maol Mórdha's house were to be heard "the voices of reciters reciting their lays to the accompaniment of musicians"

[1] Ed. by S. Ó Cuív, 1908 (and 1923).

[2] The Kerry tailor's lament is in *Duanaire Duibhneach* (Seán Ó Dubhda), p. 137. That the author of the Donnchadh Bán lament (see R. Ní Ógáin, *Duanaire Gaedhilge*, I, no. 52) was of peasant origin may be concluded from the stress she lays on Donnchadh's skill as ploughman and thrasher.

[3] *e.g.*: juggling in Tadg Ó Cellaig's house, music-playing in other noblemen's houses, described in Cetharnach Uí Dhomnaill (S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 285, etc.).

[4] *Cf.* crosántacht beginning *Tugam aghaidh ar Máol Mórdha*, R.I.A. MSS. 24 P 5, p. 193 *sq.*, 23 C 21, p. 98 *sq.*

(*guth reacaireadh ag reic a laoidheadh re lucht seanma*).[1] And that storytelling was not neglected in that house is clear from the account another poet, Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, gives of the reward he received from Maol Mórdha and his companions for a story he told one night that he visited them.[2] Similar gatherings of musicians, guests, gamesters, poets, strollers (*geócaigh*) and storytellers characterised the house of Captain Dermot O'Leary of Killeen, near Killarney, as described by Egan O'Rahilly in the late seventeenth century.[3]

With the disappearance of that Gaelic nobility began the disappearance of the harpers, poets, and more literary class of storytellers, who had hitherto mainly depended on them for support and encouragement: stories begin to become less heroic, as all familiar with the history of Irish storytelling know, music becomes less sublime, poetry poorer and less pregnant. The poetry of the highest classes was the first to suffer. After the first quarter of the seventeenth century had passed, it is doubtful if any Irish bishop could have held converse with himself on deep questions of spiritual vocation in meditative deibhidhe metre as Maol Mhuire Ó hUiginn had done[4] in the late sixteenth century, shortly before his promotion to the archbishopric of Tuam. The common people, however, who would naturally have loved juggling and jesting, had also, as has been pointed out, shared their lords' interest in poetry and storytelling, so the decay ultimately affected them too. Bruidhean Chaorthainn, for instance, was no longer told professionally in the lord's hall: unprofessional tellings of it in the farmer's kitchen or mountain booley must soon have suffered; and the mutilated versions of it which survive to-day by oral tradition have in them little of the pomp of phrase, or of the partly learned, partly heroic, partly romantic flavour which once gave it its literary value. Likewise when the

[1] *Cf.* a similar scene in a *crosántacht* for the Burkes composed about the same time, cited by Prof. Knott, Ir. Texts Soc., XXII, p. xl, and since edited by Rev. L. McKenna, S.J., in his *Dioghluim*, no. 111. Poets, musicians and guests gathered for a feast in a 14th cent. Ó Madadháin's hall, while the women embroider, are described in *Dioghluim*, no. 85; poets and guests at a feast in a 14th cent. O'Brien hall, *ib.*, 116.

[2] Prof. Knott's ed. of the poems of Tadhg Dall, no. 25.

[3] Ir. Texts Soc., III, 2nd ed., poem xxii, ll. 165–180. O'Rahilly mentions dancing also, a pastime never referred to in pre-seventeenth-century descriptions.

[4] See Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly's *Measgra Dánta*, poem 52.

harpers and professional singers who popularized airs such as Caiseal Mumhan disappeared, the folk repertory that once included Caiseal Mumhan tended to include instead some simpler ballad air.

The Gaelic chieftain was, then, a defender of his people in a deeper sense than those who spoke of the proverbial *caitheamh agus cosnamh* intended. His house was the centre where the poetry, verbal magnificence, joviality and great-heartedness which even to-day[1] in a diminished form typify Gaeldom were constantly renewed and revitalized.[2]

II

The Old Irish *oenach* or ' fair ' was not a gathering to buy and sell, as is the case with the modern *aonach*. The *oenach* held on the plain of *Murthemne* in South Ulster, for instance, on *Samain* day and the three days that preceded and the three days that followed it, is described by the compiler of *Serglige Con Culainn* as a gathering " for games and amusements, play and merry-making, eating and feasting,"[3] and Irishmen living between the sixth and thirteenth centuries would probably all have agreed that such a statement was true of every normal *oenach*.

The most detailed early description of an oenach is in an

[1] This statement needs no illustration for those familiar with modern Gaelic-speaking districts. Others will find it more or less illustrated in Tomás Ó Criomhthain's *Oileánach* or in *Peadar Chois Fhairrge* (Peadar Mac Thuathaláin), ed. by S. Mac Giollarnáth. [*Cf.*, *e.g.*, Tomás Ó Criomhthain's lavish expenditure on entertainment and his keen appreciation of good singing in a Dingle public-house, chap. XIII, or Peadar Mac Thuathaláin's account of the songs of Brighid Ní Dhonnchadha (p. 15 *sq.*) and the great-heartedness of Seán Ó hAnnfaidh (p. 84 *sq.*).]

[2] His intimacy with his people and his social importance to them explain in part that " affection and adherence to the chief " which S. Johnson (*Hebrides*, Ostig section) observed in eighteenth-century Scotland. Irish instances of devotion to O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Sullivans, O'Briens and MacCarthys, have been listed in STUDIES, Dec. 1935, pp. 589–590. A folk tradition of failure of attempts to induce the people by bribes to injure O'Conor of Connacht is recorded by Dr. Hyde, *Sgeul. Gaodh.* (London, Nutt), p. 100. This intimacy and devotion sometimes led to neglect of higher duties. Thus Mr. MacLysaght, *Ireland in the xvii Century*, p. 86, quotes a 17th cent. writer to the effect that in King James's army sometimes a " commissioned officer could not punish his sergeant or corporal because he was his cousin or foster-brother." According to Spenser (*View*, ed. Morley, 1890, p. 60) a " churl " who had been reproved for perjury replied that " it was the least thing that he could do for his lord to swear for him." The " churl " may, however, have been acting through fear, not affection.

[3] For the Irish text see *Lebor na Huidre*, ed. by R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin, ll. 3221–3226. *Serglige Con Culainn*, ' Cú Chulainn's Sick-bed,' is a tale compiled from different sources none of which seems to be later than the 11th century (Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, 415).

11th century poem on Oenach Carmain, ascribed variously to "Fulartach" and to "Flann," written perhaps, as Dr. Gwynn suggests (*Metrical Dindshenchas*, III, 471), on the occasion of the holding of the oenach in the year 1079 by Conchobar O'Conor Faly.[1] Originally every third year, according to the poem, later perhaps at longer and more irregular intervals, the clerics, kings, queens, nobles, and men and women of Leinster used to meet for this oenach on the first of August at Carman, which was situated probably in Kildare. Though fiscal and administrative matters of provincial importance were discussed by the assembled kings and men of learning, the oenach was above all an occasion for games, horse-racing, and other amusements. Music and intellectual recreation in the form of recitation of poems, learned treatises, and traditional stories, were given special prominence. Among the tales and learned matter listed are *togla*, *tána*, *tochmorca*, and *dublaídi dindshenchais*, "sacks, forays, wooings," and "dark lays of place-lore." The clerics of Leinster played their part in the oenach, and their "mass, prostration, and psalm-chanting" are specially mentioned in the poem.

Under the heading *togla*, *tána*, *tochmorca*, would come the greatest tales of the Old and Middle Irish period: *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, most tragic of our king-tales, the epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and *Tochmarc Etaíne*, most magically fairylike of the tales that belong to the mythological cycle. The "dark lays of place-lore," also (as we have seen) recited at the oenach, were being written and collected from the ninth century down to the last quarter of the twelfth. They are universally Irish in their scope, are full of Irish legendary lore, and show real knowledge and love of the Irish countryside: *Etar étan ri dílind . . . congair glas-muir ria gualaind* "Howth, forehead to the flood . . . the grey sea roars against his shoulder"—Cinaéd úa Artacáin, author of those lines, was clearly more than a mere recorder of the lore of schools.

At Oenach Carmain, then, the chief poets and storytellers

[1] O'Curry in his *Manners & Customs* and Joyce in Vol. II of his *Social History* (p. 441) have given good accounts of the oenach, based on this poem.

of Ireland found hearers for those tales and poems which were their special care. And there they, as well as the musicians, found a king to reward them : " They exert all their efforts for the King of seething Berba[1] : the king, noble and honoured, pays for each art its proper honour." (Gwynn, *Metr. Dind.*, III, 21, 261-4.)

The oenach we have been considering was primarily a gathering of the people of one province. No detailed description has come down to us of the all-Ireland oenachs held by the High-kings at Teltown, midway between Navan and Kells. We may safely assume, however, that the proceedings at Oenach Tailten were not essentially different from those at Oenach Carmain. The Four Masters record briefly the last holding of Oenach Tailten by the King of Ireland and the men of the northern half of Ireland in the year 1168. A year earlier, according to the Four Masters, the same King of Ireland had convened a great meeting or synod (*coinne*) at Athboy in Louth, which was attended " by the chief men of the northern half of Ireland, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the chief men of the Norse " :

> " They passed many good resolutions at that meeting, respecting veneration for churches and clerics, and control of tribes and peoples, so that women might traverse Ireland alone . . ."

From the Annals of Ulster we learn that the same High-king, Rory O'Conor, in the year 1169 ordained, from himself and his successors, to the head of the ecclesiastical schools at Armagh, a yearly grant ' for lecturing to the students of Ireland and Scotland ' : *ar leighinn do dhenamh do macaibh leighinn Erenn 7 Alban.* In that year, however, the *Gaill ghlassa* or Grey Foreigners landed on the Wexford coast. Their coming meant the end of high-kingship in Ireland and a change of tendency in the functioning of provincial and petty kingship.

In the first part of this article attention has been drawn to the fact that when Gaelic chieftainship came to an end

[1] The King of Leinster, whose lands are watered by the Barrow.

the Gaelic culture of their subjects began to decline. As the chief was to the Ireland of local lordships which produced the court poetry, adventure-tales and romances of the Early Modern period, so were the kings and high-kings to that Ireland of oenachs, synods and national ecclesiastical schools which produced the hero-tales, king-tales, mythological tales, dindshenchas-poems, and monastic lyrics of the Old and Middle Irish periods.

When Rory O'Conor was aspiring to the high-kingship, Gilla na Naém Úa Duinn wrote the last true dindshenchas-poem,[1] illuminating with his genuine love of Ireland the Celtic elaboration of its lovely half-rimes and alliterations :

Ére iarthar talman torthig,
tír Fódla 'na fuinenn grían :
álainn, a Dé, in Banba buide
le tarba gach thuile thíar . . .

Ith is blicht sa Banba buide
rosbennach Día mór na minn :
dligim a hurradus d'iarraid,
bunadus díamair a dinn . . .

" Ireland in the west of the fruitful earth, Fódla's land where sets the sun : lovely, O God, is fair Banbha, enriched by every western wave . . . The corn and milk of fair Banbha have been blessed by God, mighty worker of wonders : let me then probe her greatness, the hidden history of her places . . ."

While Rory was actually ruling, Maél Maire Úa Gormáin, abbot of Cnoc na nApstal in Louth, wrote the great Middle Irish verse martyrology which is known after him as *Félire*

[1] Dr. Gwynn in the foreword (p. 74) to his learned edition of the poem in *Ériu*, Vol. X, has by an oversight mistaken the Toirdelbach of stanzas 111–113 for Toirdelbach O'Brien, who died in 1167. As the Toirdelbach mentioned by the poet has a son Ruaidrí (*cf.* the corrupt stanza 113, where the first line should probably read *tiefa a mac Ruaidrí 'na ríge*), and as he is spoken of as already dead in st. 111, and as Gilla na Naém himself died in 1160, Toirdelbach O'Conor, father of Rory O'Conor, must be the dead king referred to. Toirdelbach O'Conor, King of Ireland, died in 1156. Gilla na Naém (st. 121) states that he composed the poem in Inis Clothrann (on Loch Ri), which suits the reference to a Connacht king.

Gormáin. He ended it with a poem of four quatrains calling on the saints to protect him :

Cech noéb ro buí, bias,
for bith barrglass broénach,
gabat acam uile,
in cuire co coémrath.

In slúag úasal inmain,
bec dá lir in lín-sa,
ar ág is ar erbaid,
ar demnaib dom dín-sa . . .

" Let every saint who has been, who shall be, in the green dewy world, let all that blessed host forgive me. May that noble beloved army, a few of whose many I have named, protect me from battle, bane, and demons . . ."

Good Gaelic religious poems were written after Maél Maire's day, but his is perhaps the last in which is found that spirit of fresh enthusiasm combined with perfect technique that had for four centuries been typical of Old and Middle Irish monastic verse.

Finally, it was a poet-storyteller living in Rory's period who compiled *Acallam na Senórach*, in which the poetic, the mythological, the learned, the heroic and the legendary traditions of the Old and Middle Irish period unite to produce a body of Finn-lore that has never failed to delight those who become acquainted with it. The Acallam is the last great composition in the supplely grand and imaginative style of the older tradition of storytelling, which was soon to be replaced by the more formalized and less ambitious style of the Early Modern period.

The compiler of the Acallam does not mention Rory : to mention a present-day patron was never a custom with Old or Middle Irish storytellers. Both Úa Duinn and Úa Gormáin do.[1] That mention in itself suggests that their all-Ireland

[1] Úa Duinn, having spoken of Toirdelbach, says, ' his son Rory shall succeed him as king ' (the Irish of this line has been reconstructed from a corrupt version of it *supra*, p. 24, footnote 1). The writer of the prose preface to *Félire Úi Gormáin*, probably the author himself, states that " at the time of its composition Rory O'Conor was king of Ireland."

interest, which was soon to disappear from Irish literature, owed something to their attachment to an Ireland-minded king. When circumstances led kings to act and think as local feudal lords, poets lost that larger interest. Henceforth, in keeping with the new order, where the strongholds of lords and princelings perpetually aiming at their own aggrandisement were the centres of Irish culture, bardic praise of the personal qualities of noblemen became the chief professional interest of Gaelic men of learning. Perhaps the first bardic poem of the Early Modern style extant is Giolla Brighde Macnamee's *Táinig an Croibhdhearg go Crúachain*,[1] written in praise of Rory's brother Cathal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is a good bardic poem, but a good bardic poem, however beautiful, is a lesser thing than a good poem of the non-bardic Middle Irish tradition. In the monasteries continuity with the past was lost, a loss that is curiously illustrated by the appearance of Irish written in Norman handwriting and spelt untraditionally in thirteenth century entries in the Annals of Inisfallen,[2] and the Annals of Boyle.[3] When, after the Gaelic recovery of the fourteenth century, the Franciscan Pilip Bocht Ó hUiginn again turned to the writing of Gaelic religious poetry,[4] the bards had won the day, and his poems are modelled on theirs.

Was Orpen right, then, in thinking[5] "that the direct and more immediate results of Anglo-Norman domination were on the whole distinctly beneficial to Ireland"? If we confine our thought to civil, military and ecclesiastic organisation, and if no question of the rights and wrongs of conquest be allowed to intervene, there is much to be said in favour of Orpen's opinion. In the higher category of human life and development, however, the passing of Gaelic kings and high-kings, convokers of oenachs and promoters of what was best in native ecclesiastic tradition, was an even greater disaster than the later replacing of the patriarchal chieftain by the economic landlord.

GERARD MURPHY

[1] Ed. by Quiggin in the "Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer," p. 167 *sq.*
[2] See Dr. Best's introduction to the Facsimile (1933), p. 18 *sq.*
[3] See O'Grady's description, *Cat. of Ir. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, I, 4 *sq.*
[4] Ed. by Rev. L. McKenna, S.J., 1931.
[5] *Ireland under the Normans*, IV, 251.

FATHER THOMAS A. FINLAY, S.J.

1848—1940

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THERE are many reasons why I should have refused the kind invitation of the editor of STUDIES to write this appreciation of Father Finlay. One is that I am as far as possible from being impartial. I owe so much to Father Finlay that even the lowest degree of gratitude would compel me to speak of him with affection and admiration. For nearly thirty years I have been his debtor for one good service after another: for example, for encouragement, for assistance, for introductions which have ripened into friendship, and for the exercise of his powerful influence on my behalf. Another reason why I should have refused is that I am quite unworthy adequately to appreciate a character so superior to my own. By common consent Father Finlay was intellectually and morally elevated above the vast majority of his fellows; he was described many years ago by no less a judge than Lecky to be "probably the most universally respected man in Ireland." Who am I that I should presume to praise a man so superior to me in every way? It is the knowledge that my estimate of his character is shared by all those who knew him, whether they were personally indebted to him or not, that has encouraged me to proceed in spite of the first of the above reasons for hesitation, and I hope that a sincere expression of my profound unworthiness will excuse my temerity in defying the second reason.

Another ground for hesitating to accept this flattering invitation is that I did not have the honour of knowing Father Finlay until he was comparatively old. When I arrived at University College in 1910 he was already sixty-two, and the greater part of his active life had already passed. If I were attempting to write anything in the nature of a biographical

memoir, this would be a serious objection, although it is true that Boswell did not meet Johnson until the latter was fifty-four and that Samuel Butler was over forty when he first met the author of the second best literary biography in the English language. Two-thirds of Father Finlay's life had passed before I saw him for the first time, and even a greater portion before I came to know him personally, first as an acquaintance and then as a very dear and respected friend. Happily the biographical details of his career are well-known to all readers of STUDIES, and this leaves me free to write of him as I knew him in his later life and to attempt an appreciation of his character, which, after all, did not alter with the passage of time.

It is not perhaps generally realized that longevity in itself assists sound judgment. The spectator who has sat through all the acts of a play is in a better position to criticize the plot, the characters and the acting than he who has witnessed only part of the performance. Perhaps the greatest of many great achievements of Proust is the manner in which he illustrates the relativity of human society according to the point occupied in time by the observer. A set of circumstances which to the old seems revolutionary is the established order in the eyes of the young. Father Finlay had lived so long in Ireland, and had seen the beginning and the end of so many agrarian, political and literary movements, that his judgment of what was important, what significant, what ephemeral, was unique. He had all the wisdom of Polonius without a trace of his prosiness. In his last years maturity never declined into senility. Nor did his well-stocked memory ever lead him into the common weakness of dwelling upon the past. I never heard him relate an anecdote that was not both brief and apt to the subject of the preceding conversation.

Father Finlay's activities were so numerous and his interests so diverse that to write about him is like writing about a number of persons rather than a single man. He achieved fame in so many directions that a symposium of obituary notices would be needed to do him justice. If he had confined himself to any one of the careers which he followed, he would

have achieved distinction and died famous. He was one of the leaders of education in Ireland, a successful schoolmaster, an indefatigable administrator and a brilliant professor; he was one of the leaders of the new agricultural movement that prepared the Irish farmer to profit from political independence; he was an ornament in several circles of Irish society, a noted conversationalist, a keen outdoor man, a genius for making and keeping friends. But first and foremost and above all else he was a great churchman and priest.

Of Father Finlay's ecclesiastical career it would be an impertinence for me to attempt to speak. The celebration of his golden jubilee in the Society on November 13th, 1916, was a notable event which evoked many tributes from his colleagues. I can testify to his wonderful powers as a preacher. Indeed, it was in that capacity that I first saw him when he gave a retreat to schoolboys which impressed me very deeply at the time. It is not surprising that his services were in great demand for retreats, conferences and sermons on solemn occasions, and nobody will ever know the countless multitude of men and women, rich and poor, who sought his advice and consolation in their spiritual lives. A lasting monument to his priestly enthusiasm exists in the Lenten Lectures given every year in Gardiner Street, for the foundation of which he was responsible. Nobody who knew him ever doubted that all his life was coloured by religion. It is not for me to say more upon a subject on which eulogy might easily shade into impertinence.

There was no branch of Irish education that did not derive advantages from Father Finlay's service. He acted as a Commissioner of Intermediate Education for many years, and took an active part in the establishment and early administration of the new system of technical education set up at the beginning of the present century. His tenure of the rectorship of Belvedere College from 1882 to 1887 is evidenced by a typically practical monument, the spacious building which he erected. Another valuable service was the editing and publication of numerous school books and copy books. He was appointed a trustee of the National Library

of Ireland in 1907, and was Chairman of the Trustees from 1909 to 1938. Nowhere was he more esteemed than in the boardroom of this Library, where for many years his word was law. But his main work in the sphere of Irish education was performed in University College, Dublin, with which he was associated, in one capacity or another, for over fifty years.

As long ago as 1882 Father Finlay was elected a fellow of the Royal University in classics, from which he was shortly transferred to the more congenial subject of philosophy. In 1883 he and his brother, Father Peter Finlay, were appointed joint professors of Mental and Moral Philosophy in University College, Dublin, which had been reorganised under the direction of the Society of Jesus. In 1887, when he retired from the rectorship of Belvedere, he joined the community of University College, which was his home until the establishment of the National University, when he moved to the Jesuit House in Leeson Street. In 1899 the Royal University established a fellowship in Political Economy to be tenable as a professorship at University College. The first appointment to this Chair was the late W. P. Coyne, who, when he retired in 1900 to take up an important position in the newly founded Department of Agriculture, was succeeded by Father Finlay. When the National University of Ireland was established in 1909 he was appointed to the Chair of Political Economy in University College, Dublin, which he continued to hold until his resignation in 1930.

Father Finlay's retirement from active work in University College was the occasion of a remarkable valedictory demonstration. He was created Emeritus Professor of Political Economy and had conferred upon him *honoris causa* the Degree of Doctor of Economic Science. Together with this official recognition of the value of his services, there was an unofficial testimony offered by the collection of a large sum by voluntary contributions to establish some permanent memorial in the College. The fund collected was devoted to the painting of a presentation portrait by Mr. Leo Whelan, R.H.A., and to the foundation of an annual lecture known as the Finlay Lecture. The portrait was presented to Father

Finlay at a ceremony held in the Council Chamber of University College, where it now hangs. On this memorable occasion the oration was delivered by Professor William Magennis. The Finlay Lecture has been delivered by some of the most famous English and continental economists, and enables the students of economics in the College to make personal contact with the leading exponents of their subject.

No bare chronicle of dates can convey an adequate impression of the outstanding influence that Father Finlay exercised on the life of University College during its Jesuit days and under the new regime. By the foundation of the Lyceum Club in 1884 and by the active part which he took in the foundation of University Hall, of which he acted as President from 1912 to 1922, he helped to build up the social life of the students, a matter to which he rightly attached much importance. True to his reputation as a builder which he had gained in Belvedere, he added a block of new lecture rooms, which, though temporary in character, were at the same time extremely useful and served as an example of what could be done by self-help. Nor were his building activities confined to bricks and mortar ; in the intellectual sphere this master-builder was no less active. The *Lyceum*, which he founded, edited for many years, and to which he contributed numerous articles, ran from 1887 to 1894, when its place was taken by the *New Ireland Review* which continued publication until 1911, when, in its turn, it gave way to STUDIES. Father Finlay's service to these periodicals cannot be measured by his own contributions, numerous and excellent as they were. Many of the most valuable contributions from other pens would never have been written had it not been for the inspiration he gave and the enthusiasm he aroused among successive generations of undergraduates. Some idea of the wide scope, variety of subject matter and topical importance of these magazines can be gained by referring to the admirable history of University College, Dublin, entitled *A Page of Irish History.*

Father Finlay has sometimes been criticized in a friendly way for not having devoted more of his abundant talents to

writing. Actually he wrote a great deal more than people realize. He had co-operated with Father Matthew Russell in the foundation of the *Irish Monthly* in 1873, and, as mentioned in the last paragraph, was the founder of the *Lyceum* from which the *New Ireland Review* and STUDIES were derived. In addition he contributed to the *Month*, the *Economic Journal* and numerous other periodicals. It is rather characteristic of his complete lack of conceit that most of what he wrote was either anonymous or lies buried in the files of old periodicals. Moreover, many of his sermons and the addresses which he delivered at the I.A.O.S. and other congresses would bear the test of being printed without the alteration of a single word. The fact is that he wrote only when he had some practical purpose to serve, and that, having said what he had to say, he passed on to the next task. He had none of the vanity that feeds upon the contemplation of fat volumes or the conventional compliments of reviewers.

I had the honour of attending Father Finlay's lectures for two years. My recollection of them is that of an exceedingly keen and highly educated intellect dissecting definitions and exposing fallacies. Father Finlay was far from being a narrow and pedantic specialist of the type that makes the dismal science dismal indeed. On the contrary, his lectures were delivered against a background, on the one hand, of philosophy and, on the other hand, of practical business experience. His exceptional fluency of diction, combined with a remarkable facility of apt illustration and seasoned with a spice of rather dry humour, rendered his lectures pleasant as well as profitable. He aimed at making difficult things appear easy rather than at making easy things appear difficult. If it be complained that he asked more questions than he answered, it can be replied that Socrates was guilty of the same charge. To attend Father Finlay's lectures was a liberal education. To those who would recapture the flavour of his singularly personal dialectical style I would recommend the perusal of his evidence before the Privy Council on the questions arising in connection with the Chair of Scholastic Philosophy in Queen's University, which is generally admitted to be a masterpiece of philosophic exposition.

The movement to reconstruct Irish agriculture on new foundations attracted Father Finlay from its very beginning. Part of his scholasticate had been spent in Germany where he had witnessed with keen interest the growth of co-operative credit societies among the farmers. His attention was drawn to the infant co-operative movement in Ireland by a speech delivered by Horace Plunkett in 1889. Father Finlay read this speech in the newspaper and was so interested that he called to see Plunkett. "That meeting," Plunkett wrote years later, "led to his being the kindest and most loyal friend I have ever had in a work which has made my life worth living." Going round the country giving retreats he aroused the interest of the clergy in the new scheme of organization, with the result that the difficulties of forming co-operative societies were greatly reduced. Father Finlay was elected to the first committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in 1894, and became Vice-President in 1895. He recommended, in 1895, the foundation of an organ to represent the co-operative movement, and when the *Irish Homestead* was started he acted for a time as editor-in-chief. This paper, as is well-known, had a distinguished career under the editorship of George Russell and became merged in the *Irish Statesman* in 1923. Thus we encounter another distinguished line of Irish periodical literature which owes its inception to Father Finlay.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the part played by Father Finlay in the co-operative movement. His presence on its platforms in its early days disproved the suggestion, freely made by its critics, that it was reactionary in politics or one-sided in religion. He understood the country people better than many of his colleagues, and his speeches were masterpieces of practical wisdom seasoned with gentle irony. His addresses at the annual meetings of the I.A.O.S. were valuable expositions of the co-operative principle and would amply repay the cost of being collected and reprinted. M. Paul-Dubois states that "it is doubtful if anyone has done more to propagate and define the main ideas of the new co-operative movement than the eminent Jesuit Father Finlay,"

and R. A. Anderson expresses the same opinion in his charming book of reminiscences which is fitly dedicated to the "Great Churchman and Patriot." Sir Horace Plunkett has told us that the delicate and diplomatic task of assembling the diverse elements that constituted the Recess Committee was performed by Father Finlay more than by any other person, and further that in the difficult problems which he experienced as Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture he frequently had recourse to the same sage and prudent adviser. Thus there can be no question that Father Finlay was a central figure in the new policy of agricultural improvement which has produced so many benefits for Irish farmers.

Father Finlay was keenly interested in the revival of Irish industries, especially in the countryside, where the employment available in agriculture was insufficient to stem the tide of emigration. He was untiring in his efforts to establish industries in the Congested Districts, and did in fact succeed in providing industrial employment in some of the poorest parts of the West. The Providence Mills at Foxford, the Irish Lace Depot and the Co-operative Society at Templecrone, associated with his friend Paddy Gallagher—"Paddy the Cope"—were among the enterprises which owed their success largely to his encouragement and exertion. He was a member of the Industrial Committee of the Gaelic League. His attitude towards industry was that it was the man at the helm who mattered and that there was plenty of scope for profitable activity in Ireland without any need to appeal for public assistance. The little book which he published in 1932 on *Foxford and the Providence Mills* contains, in addition to the history of a remarkable industry, an expression of Father Finlay's industrial faith. It was a faith in men rather than institutions, in self help rather than State help. In this, as in all else, he was an individualist in the best sense of that much-abused word.

In the course of these manifold activities—religious, academic, literary and economic—Father Finlay made innumerable friends. In the co-operative movement in particular he was immensely popular, and I can speak with

first-hand knowledge of the respect and affection which he commanded from many who had nothing in common with his political or religious views. The friendship which bound together Sir Horace Plunkett, Father Finlay, R. A. Anderson and George Russell was touching to behold; seldom were four men of such diverse temperaments bound by so close a tie. But his friendship extended into countless other circles as well. Priests and nuns in every part of the country whom he had met on his retreats, past students of Belvedere and of University College in every walk of life, members of the Catholic gentry who competed with each other to have him for the week-end to say Mass in their private chapels, fellows and professors of Trinity, and all sorts and conditions of people, rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, young and old, North and South—all valued his friendship. People who could not in any circumstances have been friends with one another succeeded in being friends with him. Thus he came to occupy a unique position in Irish life. He bridged gaps that nobody else could have bridged, moved with the utmost facility in several mutually exclusive circles, and made possible contacts which, in his absence, would have been unthinkable.

Father Finlay was equally at his ease in every type of society. His popularity among the rich and the extent to which he was entertained by the so-called upper classes might, in the case of a less simple man, have made possible the charge of snobbery by some of his colleagues and critics who did not receive similar invitations. Snobbery is nothing else than an undue consciousness of class distinctions, whereas in Father Finlay's case it was the complete absence of such consciousness that enabled him to feel equally at home in all sorts of society. What was not generally realized was that, for every single rich friend he possessed, he possessed several poor ones, and that there was probably no priest in Dublin who had a more genuine and practical sympathy with the working classes. Another criticism sometimes made by the narrow-minded is that meeting a great many people of all persuasions is proof of a spirit of accommodation that may lead to a weakening of one's principles. Actually it is the people of the strongest

principles that can safely enjoy the greatest mixture of society, and it is the feeble who run the risk of contagion in the company of dissenting opinions. Few people had stronger principles than Father Finlay, and few have held them more boldly and consistently. None of his innumerable friends would have dared to utter in his presence any word that could have offended his convictions or beliefs, and any stranger who behaved tactlessly in this respect received a polite but decided rebuff. He was a missioner in a way, with the difference that the field of the missionary activity lay at home rather than abroad; he spread a respect for Catholicism in many circles where prejudice and misunderstanding needed to be corrected by personal example.

The secret of his great gift of friendship was his kindness and his desire to be of use to as many people as possible. He always gave more than he received and never looked for a return even for the greatest favours. He was incredibly reliable and loyal, never forgot a promise, never kept one waiting, never let one down. His enormous circle of acquaintances rendered him an invaluable ally when any question of personal influence arose, and he used his connections with the powerful on behalf of others rather than on his own behalf. There is no doubt that he possessed considerable power not only in academic and co-operative circles, but in the wider field of government and administration, and many judges and high officials were beholden for their promotion to his good offices behind the scenes. He became directly or indirectly the dispenser of widespread patronage, but in this, as in everything else, his conscience never permitted him to abuse his power, and those who owed their advancement to his favour were meritorious at least in his opinion. He was in no sense of the word a jobber who made use of personal influence to advance the unworthy or to find appointments for his friends irrespective of their deserts.

The possession of such a vast amount of personal influence in so many different circles gave rise to the legend that he was a sort of mystery man. George Moore recalls that when he returned to Dublin he heard about Father Finlay on all

sides and that he was described as "a cryptogram which nobody could decipher." Having made his acquaintance, as recounted in one of the most brilliant passages in *Salve*, Moore expresses the opinion, so many-sided were Father Finlay's activities, that it would require the genius of a Robert Browning to write his apologia. There is no doubt that he had the reputation of being deep and subtle. I overheard him discussed as jesuitical by an English lady who was greatly surprised when I revealed to her that he was in fact a Jesuit. For this interpretation of his character Father Finlay's manner was mainly responsible. He said what he had to say in so few words that one was tempted to think that he had left a lot unsaid, he was master of an ironical turn of phrase which required interpretation by the listener, and it must be confessed that he was not always a glad sufferer of fools. Nevertheless all those who knew him well would agree that he was the simplest of men. For my own part I can say that I never knew anybody less Machiavellian. Indeed, the great pleasure of dealing with him was that one knew exactly where one stood.

Perhaps I have dwelt unduly upon the diversity of Father Finlay's talents, occupations and acquaintances, and may have conveyed the impression that his career was characterized by a dissipation of energy in too many directions. Nothing could be further from the truth, because all his activities were intimately related and formed part of an integrated whole. Moreover everything that he did was moulded by his character, which, as I said at the beginning, did not change with time and thus enabled the observer of his later years to interpret his youth and active manhood. The outstanding feature of his character was courage. He told George Moore that "one must pay no attention to criticism, but go on doing what one has to do." As has already appeared in the course of this appreciation, he had a good many critics from time to time, but he was never deflected one inch from what he considered the path of duty. Next to courage the leading trait in his character was reliability. He possessed in a singular degree the business virtues of punctuality, regularity and attention to detail

which one is tempted to trace to his Scottish ancestry. Partly no doubt as a result of the large amount of open-air exercise which he took on his numerous fishing and shooting expeditions, he enjoyed unusually good health which made him most reliable. He never broke an engagement, never missed a lecture, never was late for a meeting. This combination of courage and reliability is an alloy of virtues which is not as common in Ireland as other alloys no less estimable and sometimes more amiable, and its possession was undoubtedly responsible for much of Father Finlay's pre-eminence.

The qualities of courage and reliability explain the success with which Father Finlay achieved the ends of his activity, but they do not throw any light upon what were the ends which he sought to achieve. Here again an integrity of purpose can be detected behind much outward diversity. His influence was always directed towards increasing the independence and the responsibility of those around him. All his teaching, whether by precept or example, was practical. He never neglected the ethical aspects of economics in his lectures, while insisting nevertheless that the line between the two sciences must be clearly drawn and that exact economic analysis must not be sacrificed to moralizing generalities. Nobody ever fell less into the error of confusing Utopia, or things as one would wish them to be, and reality, or things as they are. His interest in the co-operative movement was as much moral as material. Irish farmers, after centuries of repression, were prone to rely unduly upon public assistance. The great lesson of the co-operative society was that it taught the benefits that could be derived from self-help and mutual aid. These were the virtues that he preached throughout his life; and on more than one occasion—for example when as rector of Belvedere he gave a hand in the building of the new school or when he erected in the garden of University College "Father Tom's tin university"—he demonstrated practically what could be achieved by a sturdy self-reliance. If one were asked to describe Father Finlay by the use of a single adjective, "sturdy" would be one that would best suit the purpose. This quality was reflected in his appearance and

is well brought out in Mr. Leo Whelan's excellent portrait and in the equally brilliant pen portrait in George Moore's *Salve*.

Sturdiness was the virtue which Father Finlay wished to develop in his fellow-countrymen. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that he was an unwavering nationalist and was, I think, a good deal more advanced in his views than was generally realized. It is not without significance that in the one excursion into imaginative literature in which he indulged the hero of his novel was Owen Roe O'Neill. In so far as the agricultural reconstruction movement of the nineties was an attempt to "kill Home Rule by kindness," he was never an accessory to that crime. On the contrary, he was anxious to build up those qualities of self-help and self-reliance without which he believed that self-government might not prove a success. It must be remembered that centuries of bad government had left their mark upon the Irish character and that the mere reform of the land system was not enough in itself to revive agricultural prosperity. There was need for a great campaign for reconstruction, and this was the need that Father Finlay attempted to meet. There is an interesting passage in Mrs. Dugdale's *Life of Lord Balfour* in which the author relates that she asked her father, in his declining years, "What remains of your Irish policy now"? Lord Balfour replied: "Everything, everything——What was the Ireland that the Free State took over? It was the Ireland that we made. The Irish Government could have done nothing with Ireland without our help and work." There is some truth in this statement. Ireland before the Land Purchase Acts, the Congested Districts Board, and the Department of Agriculture would have presented many very difficult problems to the Home Rule Parliament. It is generally agreed that self-government came too late; but a plausible case could be made that it might have come too soon if Gladstone's bills had been passed. It may be that a period of preparation was necessary. In any event such a period was imposed as a result of the political changes and chances of the time. Father Finlay's efforts during all

that period were directed towards building up the conditions that would ensure the success of self-government in Ireland.

Indeed Father Finlay's whole career was that of a great builder. The new school at Belvedere and Father Tom's tin university in Stephen's Green symbolize his activities in every direction. The countless co-operative societies throughout the country, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, the Department of Agriculture and the Providence Mills are largely the result of his constructive endeavour. In the sphere of intellectual discussion he laid the foundations of several successful periodicals which have played no small part in the development of Catholic and national thought. But what was even more important, he built up sturdy independent characters in his fellow-men. As a preacher, as a confessor, as a schoolmaster, as a professor and as a co-operator, he devoted his long and virtuous life to improving the souls, the minds, and the wills of the Irish people. On all occasions he built not for himself but for others; many of those who inhabit the schools which he erected, who use the pages of the periodicals which he founded, and who enjoy the benefits of the new agricultural policy which he inspired are ignorant of his very name. Nevertheless in building for others he built for himself a remarkable place in the history of his time and the sure title to a great and enduring reward.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

ANGLO-ITALIAN FRIENDSHIP

BY DENIS GWYNN

THE repeated endeavours of Mr. Neville Chamberlain to revive Anglo-Italian friendship, since it was destroyed by the attempt to cripple Italy with economic "sanctions" during the Abyssinian war, have as yet produced very little apparent result. But the importance of Anglo-Italian relations, if the war is to be prevented from spreading desolation and ruin throughout Europe, must be recognised as clearly in Rome as it is in London. The chief difficulty is to establish a basis on which real sympathy and confidence can be restored; because the estrangement is much deeper than the mere rivalry of two naval Powers in the Mediterranean. The estrangement began long before the conquest of Abyssinia was an avowed purpose of Italian policy. On the Italian side it was intensified, not only by the deliberate British effort to mobilise the League of Nations against Italy's campaign in Africa, but by the conviction that England was conspicuously identified with a political "ideology" against which modern Italy is in open revolt.

Yet the genuine and close friendship between England and Italy was one of the chief factors in European politics for several generations, and it resulted from the real resemblance of aims and of political outlook between the governments of the two countries. The new Italy was definitely anti-clerical, and its unity had been accomplished by the destruction of the Temporal Power of the Papacy. Garibaldi personified for most Englishmen the revolt of a romantic and greatly gifted people against ecclesiastical tyranny, and King Victor Emmanuel was regarded as the enlightened ruler who had encouraged and adopted the idealism of the Radical revolutionaries. They had asserted the manly independence of a new generation by overthrowing the antiquated and corrupt government of central Italy by the Papacy, and it was hoped that their new freedom would soon result in emancipating them from the degrading superstitions of the Catholic

Church. In that belief several generations of Englishmen had regarded the new Italy as a country where liberal principles were not only honoured, but vindicated by heroic personal sacrifices and exalted courage. Garibaldi's name was an inspiration to English liberalism for many years after his death, and his picturesque and romantic career won him a personal devotion which Karl Marx never achieved. Even the appeal of Marx to the workers of the world to unite in striking off their chains was scarcely more widely quoted than Garibaldi's appeal to his followers : " I offer neither pay nor quarters nor provisions : I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death." To this day his name is to be seen on the signboards of inns and public-houses which were called after him in many parts of England. When he visited England in 1864, he was received with honour by Cabinet Ministers and acclaimed wherever he went, even though Disraeli declined to meet him and Queen Victoria, as Manning wrote at the time, " acted as a Queen and a woman in putting a stop to all this seditious tomfoolery about Garibaldi." And in 1915, when Italy entered the war against Austria in the hope of completing the work of Italian unity (chiefly at the instigation of the Masonic Lodges and in response to the vehement agitation led by Mussolini and d'Annunzio), the association of Garibaldi's descendants with the campaign was hailed in England as an inspiration to greater efforts in the common cause.

When wistful appeals are made now-a-days in public speeches to those old bonds of sympathy and co-operation which formerly united the two countries, it is seldom appreciated in England that the basis of that old friendship has disappeared and that an entirely new basis will have to be found. Victorian England had been convinced that Garibaldi's young Italy was fundamentally anti-Catholic ; but the new Fascist Italy has become the foremost champion of Catholic traditions in Europe. The whole trend of English enthusiasm for the Risorgimento was in the wrong direction, for it was based on a misunderstanding, and the misconception was shared by almost all the leading writers of the Victorian age. It

inspired many of them to flights of real eloquence. English visitors had been attracted by Italy for many years, and its scenery and its artistic treasures were appreciated long before they were popularised by Ruskin. One of the most characteristic descriptions of an Italian tour is to be found in the life of Lord Macaulay, who visited Rome when he was thirty-eight and reported his impressions in long letters to his friends. They give a very picturesque account of all that he saw, combined with observations on the Papal Government, which was an unfailing subject of derision and antipathy. In December 1838, he wrote :—

> It is a pleasant city for an English traveller. He is not harassed or restrained. He lives as he likes, and reads what he likes, and suffers little from the vices of the administration ; but I can conceive nothing more insupportable than the situation of a layman who should be a subject of the Pope. In this government there is no avenue of distinction for any but priests. Every office of importance, diplomatic, financial and judicial, is held by the clergy. A prelate, armed with most formidable powers, superintends the police of the streets. The military department is directed by a Commission over which a Cardinal presides. Some petty magistracy is the highest promotion to which a lawyer can look forward ; and the greatest nobles of this singular State can expect nothing better than some place in the Pope's household, which may entitle them to walk in procession on the great festivals. Imagine what England would be if all the members of Parliament, the Ministers, the Judges, the Ambassadors, the Governors of Colonies, the very Commanders-in-chief and Lords of the Admiralty were, without one exception, bishops or priests ; and if the highest post open to the noblest, wealthiest, ablest and most ambitious layman were a Lordship of the Bedchamber !
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> And yet this would not come up to the truth, for our clergy can marry ; but here every man who takes a wife cuts himself off forever from all dignity and power, and puts himself into the same position as a Catholic in England before the Emancipation Bill. The Church is therefore filled with men who are led into it merely by ambition, and who, though they might have been useful and respectable as laymen, are hypocritical and immoral as churchmen ; while on the other hand the State suffers greatly, for you may guess what sort of Secretaries of War and Chancellors of the Exchequer are likely to be found among bishops and canons. Corruption infects all the public offices. Old women above, liars and cheats below—that is the Papal administration. The States of the Pope are, I suppose, the worst

governed in the civilised world, and the imbecility of the police, t venality of the public servants, the dissolution of the country, a the wretchedness of the people, force themselves on the observati of the most heedless traveller. It is hardly an exaggeration to s that the population seem to consist chiefly of foreigners, priests a paupers. Indeed, whenever you meet a man who is neither in canonic nor rags, you may bet two to one that he is an Englishman.

That last sentence, with its climax of serene sel complacency, did not quite mean that Macaulay regarde himself as the only prosperous and civilised person in Rom There was a surprisingly large number of English visitors the time, and the basis of this condescending affection towar Italy was constantly widening as the number of Engli tourists increased. " Rome was full of English when I arrive but now the crowd is insupportable," he writes in the sam letter. " I avoid society, as much as I can without bei churlish ; for it is boyish to come to Italy for the purpose mixing with the set, and hearing the tattle, to which one accustomed in Mayfair." In another letter, to Lord Lan downe, he reports that " Rome is full of English. We cou furnish exceedingly respectable Houses of Lords and Co mons. There are at present twice as many coroneted carriag in the Piazza di Spagna as in St. James's Parish." He ha been " more delighted than I can express by Italy, and abo all by Rome. I hardly know whether I am more interest by the old Rome or by the new Rome—by the monuments the extraordinary empire which has perished, or by the i stitutions of the still more extraordinary empire which, aft all the shocks which it has sustained, is still full of life a of perverted energy. If there were not a single ruin, fi building, picture, or statue in Rome, I should think mys repaid for my journey by having seen the headquarters Catholicism, and learned something of the nature and effe of the strange Brahminical government established in t Ecclesiastical State."

That was written in 1838, some eight years before t election of Pio Nono in succession to Gregory XVI rais hopes of a " liberal " regime which were soon disappointe The Brownings were in Italy in those years, and Elizabe

Barrett Browning had expressed the fervent hopes of an English observer in the first part of her "Casa Guidi Windows," which was written before Garibaldi's first unsuccessful venture in 1848. The second part of her poem was written later, and in her preface she explains her disillusionment. But she claims that at least she had "certainly escaped the 'falling sickness' of enthusiasm for Pio Nono." Throughout the next sixty years the cult of Garibaldi appears in a voluminous literature, rising to its climax in the ecstasies of Swinburne's *Songs before Sunrise* which celebrated the downfall of the Temporal Power.

This ardent sympathy with Italian Liberalism in its detestation of the Papacy continued into the years which preceded the last war. It found its most authentic expression in a series of volumes devoted to glorification of Garibaldi which was prepared with years of devoted labour by Lord Macaulay's grand-nephew, G. M. Trevelyan. The first volume, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, 1848-9 was published in 1907, and it was followed at intervals by *Garibaldi and the Thousand* and *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*. They established the reputation of their author so effectively that in 1927 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, to occupy the chair which was first held by the Catholic Lord Acton. Three years later he received the highest honour awarded for literary eminence, in being made a member of the Order of Merit. In the intervening years Mr. Trevelyan had demonstrated his devotion to Italy by undertaking war service as the chief of the British Red Cross unit which accompanied the Italian armies after Italy had entered the Great War in May, 1915. His three volumes were republished in a popular edition in 1921, and their author added a preface which must be quoted, as revealing both the strength of his political convictions and his complete confidence in his earlier judgment of the changes in Italy within living memory.

"Fourteen years ago, when I began to study the life of Garibaldi [he wrote in 1920] and nine years ago, when I published the last of the three volumes of this series, I certainly did not expect that I was

going to serve for more than three years with the Italian army, becomi intimate in the field with the sons and grandsons of men recorded these pages, in the final war of the *Risorgimento*, waged, during first year, against the very Kaiser Franz Josef whose soldiers hunt Anita and Garibaldi in 1869. . . . We have fought for the princip of 1688 and 1789. We have settled the undecided issue of 18 Cavour and Garibaldi gave us Italy for an ally, while Washingt and Lincoln gave us America. 'The tombs were uncovered; t dead came to war.' Each nation proved to be that which its forefathe had made it. Because of the strange, romantic history recorded these volumes, Italy in our day fought on the side of freedom. B for that history she would still have been a province of germanis Austria . . . The events of the Risorgimento, a large portion which are recorded in this Garibaldian trilogy, are therefore to t Italian of to-day more than any single epoch of English history c be to us. They are to him all that the story of Washington and Linc together are to the American. To be friends with Italy, we mu begin by understanding and sympathising with the movement th gave her birth."

As an exposition of that movement for English reade Sir George Trevelyan's trilogy has undoubtedly been for ma years regarded as the standard work, and the accuracy a faithfulness of its description has been scarcely questione In the light of more recent events its perspective must see strangely distorted. It was Signor Mussolini, as much any man, who impelled Italy into the last war in fulfilme of the dream of Italian unity and for the liberation of *Ita Irredenta*. But, whatever other principles the Duce m now hold sacred, they are certainly not the "principles 1688 and 1789." During the anniversary celebration of t French Revolution last July, he deliberately heaped scc upon them in one of his most important broadcast address In spite of all his industry and patient research, Sir Geor Trevelyan's studies are vitiated throughout by his inabili to read history from any other point of view than that of t English Whigs. In the popular edition of his trilogy explains that his "many pages of bibliography, appen and footnotes" have had to be omitted; but he claims th "for several years these books have run the gauntlet of h torical criticism—clad in the armour of those reference

n the whole with a singular immunity." Nor were his researches onfined only to reading, for he explains :—

I have not only visited the scenes in the capital and near it, but ave walked along the whole route traversed by Garibaldi's column rom the gate of Rome to Cesenatico on the Adriatic, and have visited he scenes of his adventures near Comacchio and Ravenna . . . Through this land of old beauty I have followed on foot their track of ain and death, with such a knowledge of where they went, and how hey fared each day, as is not often the fortune of pilgrims who trace he steps of heroes.

His failure to understand or to anticipate the outlook of the new Italy, in which he proclaims his vivid faith, can e better appreciated when one reads his fantastically distorted account of the "condition of the Roman States under he Papacy," between the end of the Napoleonic wars and he first attempt by Garibaldi to capture Rome. In page fter page of rhetorical denunciation he describes a system of organised terrorism and oppression which would defy redence even if the characters and records of the ecclesiastical ulers concerned were not well known. His imagination runs iot as his inherited prejudices kindle while he writes. "The evils of the clerical government, perhaps never so real, were ertainly never before so much felt as between 1815 and 1866," he writes, "and they were felt most deeply and resented most effectually in the Romagna. The Romagnuol easantry, a proud race of fine physique and noble bearing, were always among the first Italians to resent oppression, whether that of French Republicans, Austrians or priests." He quotes Byron's tribute to them as "a savage, resolute ace, always riding with guns in their hands"; and he declares that "the town population of the Romagna represented, erhaps, a still finer type." It was "over this Romagnuol ommunity, proud of its past tradition and struggling owards modern progress, the palsied hand was now again stretched from beyond the Apennines." The general illiteracy of the rural population was of course explained by the fact hat "education was frowned on as a design of the Liberals o revolutionise the State," and was therefore "successfully liscouraged." As for the Universities of the Papal States,

the Regius Professor at Cambridge solemnly declares that (in the first half of the nineteenth century) "political economy was a forbidden subject while Dante, modern, literature and the theory that the earth moves round the sun were all suspect and sometimes prohibited." Censorship of the press likewise excluded "most books and newspapers of any importance, whether Italian or foreign." But these deprivations were only incidental to the general system of tyranny. Sir George continues :—

> The life, freedom and property of no one who was not a friend to Government had any real security in the Papal States. Long lists of suspects were handed about between the officers, spiritual and temporal, whose functions overlapped in the most amazing way. The houses of the suspects were perpetually being searched, and their daily goings out and in were watched and reported. If evidence was lacking, cardinals did not stick at ordering trivial circumstances to be tortured into proof, and certainly the lower officials had small scruple in obeying the spirit of their instructions. Strange commands were issued to the citizens of this Church-State, sometimes to individuals or sometimes to thousands at a time ; as, for example, that they should keep within doors between sunset and sunrise, or not go out at night without a lantern ; that they should, under compulsion, 'perform their spiritual exercises for three days in a convent chosen by the bishop,' or confess once a month before an approved confessor. Cruel punishments were enacted for neglect. The situation of a 'thinker' driven into the confessional by the police must have had piquancy. What did gentlemen in this interesting position confide to the holy fathers ? . . .
>
> Worst of all, any man was liable—and liable almost in proportion to his public spirit and desire to improve the lot of his fellows—to see the inside of the secret cells of Pesaro or of the fortress which rises on the grim rock of San Leo in the heart of the wildest Apennines. In times when the Government was specially alarmed, the forms of civilised justice were laid aside, as when, in 1821, many hundreds of men and women were imprisoned or banished without trial and without accusation ; as when, in 1824 and 1844, Special Commissions were established presided over by persons of the worst character, who judged with an indifference to all rules of law and punished with a ferocity that shocked even the Europe of that day. Tied up by rope to the walls of filthy prisons or to the 'galleys' of Civitavecchia, or more mercifully executed by gibbeting or 'shooting in the back,' the Pope's enemies perished and were forgotten.

Under such a regime, secret societies were the only means of promoting ideas of reform in the State, or even of freely studying literature and exchanging views on ordinary subjects. The Italian genius for this kind of subterranean life was not wanting to the occasion, and the Carbonari, the Freemasons, and later 'Young Italy' kept alive thought and politics which took a revolutionary trend answering in violence to the degree of repression.

There is a familiar ring about most of this denunciation in our own day, and there are few countries where complaints of violent repression of political opponents have not been made in very similar terms. Neither Germany nor Russia has in our own day had a monopoly of concentration camps. But Sir George Trevelyan's particular repugnance was towards the ecclesiastical character of government in the Papal States. He declaims against the prevalence of "spies," though he admits that they were "then familiar figures on the Continent of Europe, as they had been in England under the regime of Pitt." They were the "special curse of Italy" to such an extent that "indeed, the only way to carry on the secret societies at all was [as he discreetly puts it] to limit the activity of the spies by putting the fear of death into their hearts." Sir George even openly condones political murder: "Under the Papacy, as under the Gardone, assassination was the only means of self-defence against a government which not only did not protect liberty, property or life, but used every instrument of force and fraud to deprive men of the simplest rights of humanity." He considers that the Carbonari went too far, and "were greatly to blame for the regular system of assassination which they carried on—beginning a few years after Waterloo—not merely against spies but against governors, soldiers and police." Even Lord Byron, that pioneer of nineteenth century Anglo-Italian friendship, "who was hand in glove with the Carbonari and lived during the winter of 1820-21 in daily hopes of a 'row,' eager to take his place in the fighting line, was disgusted by the system of assassination which his allies employed, sometimes under his very windows."

But even for such excesses Sir George finds sufficient excuse in the Papal States under Gregory XVI, because

" the rulers, at any rate, did not regard assassination as wrong in itself, for they employed it as readily as their opponents who at least had the excuse that they possessed no other weapons. The Papal assassins, organised in the Centurion bands, an offshoot of the famous San-Fedist society, appeared openly in Romagna and the Marches, assuming the name and uniform of Pontifical Volunteers, while in the other parts of the Papal dominions they remained a secret society answering to the Carbonari." There is much more in this strain, and I have quoted freely because these passages give a clear idea of how Victorian England regarded the conflict between Garibaldi and the Papacy, and how deeply it sympathised with his efforts to overthrow a system which it believed to have been so tyrannous. But the picture is incomplete without a further quotation, which reveals the essentially anti-Catholic spirit that inspired the sympathy for Young Italy

If this abominable Government had only been the bayonet rule of the Austrian veterans themselves, it would have been less shameful to endure. But the system which the Austrians were again and again called in to re-establish over the rebels of the Romagna was not militarism, or the rule of men with like passions to the government but the supremacy of that strange third sex which the Roman Church creates by training men up from boyhood in a world that is not the world of men. To live under the Austrians, after they themselves had suppressed rebellion in fair fight, to see the white-coats scourging the prisoners they had taken in fight and the women who were the prize of war, was the old pain of the world known to captured Troy and Carthage. But to be first knocked down by the Austrians and then put back to live under the direct control and daily espionage of priests, to be liable to imprisonment and ruin if one displeased the black skirt, was worse than pain. It was as though some indefinable horror, at once monstrous and despised, at once eerie and most material were in one's house and lord of it. We English, living in a land and in a generation where these things are so far away, where the spiritual guides of an honourable religious minority claim the obedience to which they have a perfect right, since it is voluntarily given, we to-day are apt to be either angry or amused at the kind of physical horror which Garibaldi and his Roman followers felt for the priests of the reactionary party. But if we honestly try to put ourselves into their places and time, we may or may not think their expressions exaggerated we cannot think them unnatural.

Such was the government of the Roman States from Waterloo to 1846, culminating in the proverbial obscurantism of Gregory XVI who, elected in time to suppress the movements of 1831 with the utmost cruelty, misruled for fifteen years, flouting the protests of the French and English press and putting off the representations of the Powers of Europe by wiles akin to those of the Turk.

This astonishing description of the Papal Government is still presented to English readers on the authority of one of the most eminent English historians. It was written in the hope of assisting English people to understand the aspirations of Young Italy and of strengthening the traditional sympathy between the two countries. Yet within a few years after its re-publication the leader of the new Italy, who had seemed to be continuing and completing the work of Victor Emmanuel, had not only restored the territorial sovereignty of the Holy See but signed a Concordat with the Vatican in which the first Article decreed that the Catholic religion was the official religion of Italy. The shock to English Liberal sentiment was profound at the time, and as the years passed it was remarkable how the old epithets of hostility and ridicule which were formerly employed against the Papal Government were gradually employed again in denunciation of the Fascist regime. It was " reactionary " and " obscurantist " ; it enforced a press censorship which deprived the Italian people of all contact with other countries ; its government depended upon espionage and employed assassination as a recognised weapon of defence ; it " used every instrument of force and fraud to deprive men of the simplest rights of humanity." Sir George's description of the Papal Government could in fact be found, almost verbatim, in almost any English periodical of anti-Fascist views during the Abyssinian war and the civil war in Spain. Substitute " black shirt " for " black skirt," and scarcely any other alteration was needed to make his description applicable to the Government of those who had " fought for the principles of 1688 and 1789 " and had " settled the undecided issue of 1848."

It would be easy to produce an array of similar quotations which reveal the disillusionment of those who had honestly believed that Italy was preparing to take her place among the

"western democracies." In the Risorgimento they ha acclaimed the revolt of a tortured people against the Papac which Englishmen had been taught to execrate and whic they sincerely believed to be enforcing an inhuman tyranr upon the noblest provinces of Italy. Swinburne's "Ha before Rome" expresses the hatred and the hopes of his ag with fierce intensity:

We halt by the walls of the city,
Within sound of the clash of her chain.
Hearing, we know that in there
The lioness chafes in her lair,
Shakes the storm of her hair,
Struggles in hands without pity,
Roars to the lion in vain.

Whose hand is stretched forth upon her?
Whose curb is white with her foam?
Clothed with the cloud of his deeds,
Swathed in the shroud of his creeds,
Who is this that has trapped her and leads,
Who turns to despair and dishonour
Her name, her name that was Rome?

Over fields without harvest or culture,
Over hordes without honour or love,
Over nations that groan with their kings,
As an imminent pestilence flings
Swift death from her shadowing wings,
So he, who hath claws as a vulture,
Plumage and beak as a dove.

It was a "Republican Rome" that Swinburne acclaimed and he could not share the sentimental admiration for Kin Victor Emmanuel which had inspired Elizabeth Barret Browning. In the verses dedicating the collection of "Song before Sunrise" to Joseph Mazzini he writes:—

Be it witness, till one more strong,
Till a loftier lyre, till a rarer
Lute praise her better than I,
Be it witness before you, my song,
That I knew her, the world's banner-bearer,
Who shall cry the republican cry.

Yea, even she as at first,
Yea, she alone and none other,
Shall cast down shall build up, shall bring home;
Slake earth's hunger and thirst,
Lighten, and lead as a mother;
First name of the world's names, Rome.

There may be readers of this review who will share my ecollection of having heard Cecil Chesterton declaim that inal verse in a very different context, in concluding an address o the annual meeting of the Catholic Truth Society in the Dublin Mansion House shortly before the Great War, when ie had recently become a Catholic. Even in those days the eaction against Liberal Protestantism had begun to arouse questionings among the younger English Radicals. But t would be a mistake to believe that this anti-clerical enhusiasm for Garibaldi was a purely English conception. Mussolini himself grew up in an intensely anti-clerical tradition. The stormy years of his youth were spent among the evolutionary exiles in Switzerland who included Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin himself declared afterwards to a deputation of Italian Socialists in Moscow that it was "a great pity o have let him go out of the Socialist Party," and Trotsky believed him to be "the only man who could have brought about the revolution of the proletariat in Italy." It was Sorel who predicted his future as early as 1912, when he said: "Our Mussolini is no ordinary Socialist. You may expect to see him some day saluting the Italian flag, sword in hand, at the head of some Holy Brigade."

What English opinion concerning Italy had long failed to appreciate was the distinction between anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism. Even among the leaders of the Risorgimento that distinction was clearly evident, although English sympathisers assumed too easily that Garibaldi's revolutionary atheism was shared by the whole movement. The end of the Temporal Power removed many grievances which would almost certainly have made Mussolini a bitter opponent of the Church if they had still persisted, whereas he soon discovered that the national tradition of Italy was essentially Catholic. After he had concluded the Lateran Treaty, and

signed the Concordat which Pius XI had insisted upon as t sole basis of its existence, he announced very definitely th " we have not resuscitated the Temporal Power of the Pop on the contrary we have finally buried it." He defined t new position quite fairly when he insisted that " It must understood that it is a question of two clearly defin sovereignties, completely separate yet mutually recognisi each other. In the State the Church is neither free n sovereign. It is not sovereign and it is not free, for wi regard to its members and institutions it is subject to t general laws of the State and to special stipulations of t Concordat." But he expressed the deep significance of t settlement when he declared that " it is only now that Ita has taken possession of Rome."

This reconciliation between Church and State in Ita was not the only change that shook the foundations of t former Anglo-Italian friendship. The new Italy had be utterly disillusioned by its experiment in parliamentary gover ment. Mussolini had been far in advance of the Socialis Party in his early years as editor of the *Lotta de Classe*, an his fierce impatience of parliament could be attributed t youthful inexperience. But the inefficiency and corruptio which he denounced before 1914 became more glaring and mo disastrous in wartime. " The Italian Parliament does n work," he had written in the pre-war years. " Two hundre and fifty corrupt deputies, worthy of their leader Giolitt are sitting on the neck of Italy. We shall either sweep the out or perish. The ideas by which they govern Italy are onl fit for the lumber-room of the last century." Mussoli was expelled from the editorship of the Socialist Party newspaper *Avanti* when he became an ardent interventionis in October 1914 and attempted to make the paper an inte ventionist organ. He founded the *Popolo d'Italia* instea and his vehement propaganda was one of the strongest force in bringing Italy into the war which was to complete the wor of the Risorgimento. But the ineptitude and corruption Parliament became still more manifest both in the conduc of the war and in the failure to obtain Italy's full share i

he rewards of victory at Versailles. The Fascist organisation ad had its beginnings in the movement to secure Italy's ntervention as a belligerent, and when Mussolini established he Fascist party after the war ended, he had decided that the ld parliamentary system could no longer continue. "It s not a question of setting up any sort of Government, more r less capable of existing," he announced at a demonstration n Naples; "what we have in view is the introduction into he Liberal State, which has fulfilled its functions—and they ave been splendid functions and are not forgotten by us—f all the forces of the new generation of Italians who have won the war and victory."

In the years which followed, estrangement between Italian and English opinion developed very rapidly. The violent methods of the Fascist agitation, the imprisonments without trial, the suppression of political parties and of trade unions, the exile, whether by decree or through fear of assassination or imprisonment, of prominent Italian Liberals who were believed to have narrowly escaped the fate of the murdered Matteoti—all these factors combined to arouse in England a detestation of the new regime in Italy which became as widespread as the former sympathy with Garibaldi and his legionaries. Disillusionment is inevitable in any country which prides itself on offering a refuge to political exiles; and bitter experience has restrained the enthusiasm which has greeted the exiles from modern political upheavals in Russia, Italy or even Germany. But the disillusionment concerning Italy was specially intense, because almost any refugee from Italy had been received with extraordinary honour in Queen Victoria's reign. Perhaps the most extreme case was that of the libertine Father Achilli, who was not only invited to address meetings all over England but was received at the Foreign Office by Lord Palmerston. The publication of a full dossier of his crimes and indecencies by Cardinal Wiseman in the *Dublin Review* had no effect in discrediting him. And when Newman, in the course of his lectures in Birmingham on the "Present Difficulties of Catholics in England," repeated the charges in detail, he incurred an action for

criminal libel which resulted in a verdict against him which would have involved a term of imprisonment. It is perhaps not as widely remembered as the matter deserves that Newman escaped imprisonment by an appeal against the gross unfairness of the Judge at his first trial, and that the costs of his appeal was met by a general public subscription which produced a much larger sum than was required, so that the surplus was afterwards utilised to build the Chapel of his Catholic University in Dublin, which remains as a monument to that strange episode in Anglo-Italian relations.

But whereas the apostate Father Achilli attracted crowded audiences all over England in Queen Victoria's early reign, that brilliantly gifted and devoutly Catholic exile, the founder and leader of the Partito Popolare, Don Sturzo, has in our own time been scarcely known even by name except among the dwindling remnant of the Liberal intelligentsia in London during the years of his residence there. In the catastrophic changes in Europe during the past twenty years the repudiation of parliamentary government by Fascist Italy is no longer counted as an outrage against civilised principles. The term "anti-Fascist" has been so thoroughly exploited that it has lost all real meaning. It was worked to death in the Spanish civil war, and Hitler's pact with Moscow has compelled even the most prejudiced to think more clearly. Since war broke out in September, all pre-conceived notions have been thrown into the melting-pot. There is a new and genuine desire to understand the new Italy and to establish some solid basis of friendship with a country which a few years ago was being reviled as the chief enemy of peace and reconstruction in Europe. Only a year ago it was taken for granted that, in a war between Germany and the western democracies, Italy would be immediately ranged on Germany's side. There was still a profound conviction that Soviet Russia was, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, the most "democratic" of all European States, and that Russia would throw its whole weight on the side of the "anti-Fascist" Powers in a war to free Europe from the menace of "Fascist" aggression.

Illusions concerning Russia as a "peace-loving democracy" have been irrevocably shattered; and in the revulsion of sentiment against Moscow there is a growing conviction that Italy will assume the leadership of anti-Bolshevik resistance in southern Europe. Mussolini is already regarded with benevolent admiration as the most powerful neutral ruler in Europe, and the cordial relations between Italy's King and Government and the new Pope have been reported with unqualified approval. For the time being even the general anxiety concerning Italy's imperial ambitions has been allayed. The declarations of Signor Gayda, who is invariably described as "Mussolini's mouthpiece," are now eagerly awaited with an almost pathetic expectation of hopeful messages, whereas they were an unfailing source of provocation less than a year ago. The fact that they are less widely quoted is indeed due to frequent disappointment at their contents; for Italy is well aware of the immense strength of its position while the other Great Powers are engaged in a war which requires all their exertions and resources. It is unlikely that Italy will take any definite action until their forces are much more deeply engaged, but when the struggle begins in earnest it is at least probable that Mussolini will make demands far in excess of what England and France have yet thought of conceding.

It is immensely to the credit of Mr. Chamberlain that he has anticipated the present dangerous situation by seeking to restore friendship with Italy on absolutely frank and cordial terms. It was he who first gave expression to the widespread recognition that the application of "sanctions" against Italy had been a disastrous and foolish mistake. Whether his efforts to achieve reconciliation with Italy will be successful remains to be seen. Most probably he will have to hand over the leadership of the British Government before that issue is decided; for he has passed the age at which any man can be expected to bear the enormous strain of presiding over an Empire at war. Younger men will undoubtedly replace most of the present British Ministers before many months have passed, and in their attitude towards Italy they are unlikely

to be influenced either by the traditions of Victorian Libera ism or by antipathy to the Catholic Church. Mr. Chamberlai has himself gone far towards breaking down those ancier prejudices. His last visit to Rome, in quest of reconcilia tion, was one of the most significant episodes in his uncon ventional Premiership. He saw clearly that his missio would have been incomplete if he had not paid a special vis to the Pope as well as to Mussolini; and scrupulous regar was paid to formalities to show that the two visits were entirel independent of each other. It was within the last few day before the death of Pius XI, but the Pope was still at wor and he had a long and intimate conversation with Mr. Cham berlain and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax.

They had scarcely returned to London when the Pop died suddenly, and there was a significant sequel in Londor At the solemn requiem in Westminster Cathedral two chair had been placed in front of the others before the catafalque One was occupied by the young Duke of Norfolk, who was ther officially in his uniform to represent the King. The othe was for Lord Halifax, who arrived wearing the sash of th Order of the Garter. Westminster Cathedral has been th scene of many solemn requiems at which Cabinet Minister have attended in state to pay honour to eminent Catholi statesmen or kings. But this was surely the first occasion when the Foreign Secretary had attended a requiem. An in the immense congregation, including the whole diplomati corps and the most distinguished figures in the Catholic com munity, Lord Halifax was the one man present who had talke with the Pope in the weeks before his death. Of all Englis public men who could be named as typifying the change attitude of modern England towards the Papacy, it woul have been hard to find anyone so eminently qualified t represent the sincere and reverent regard that is to-day fel among all classes for the Holy See.

DENIS GWYNN

RUSSIAN SPIRITUALITY*

BY DONALD ATTWATER

Author of *The Catholic Eastern Churches* and *The Dissident Eastern Churches*

A WORD or two of preliminary explanation. By spirituality I understand any religious manifestation, from theological doctrine to private prayers, from the Holy Liturgy to canon law. As one believes—really believes—one is, and as one is one does.

I am assuming that the Christian tradition of the dissident Orthodox churches of the East is in general an authentic, Catholic tradition of equal validity with that of the West. For this no *apologia* is required—the Church through the Holy See has repeatedly implied and said the same thing. There are deviations, insufficiencies, historical errors, things that require examination—but in general the Eastern religious tradition and Christian consciousness is Catholic. We of the West have almost as much to learn from our brethren of the East as they have from us. Christians of both West and East have suffered, and have tended to develop one-sidedly, through being deprived for hundreds of years of each other's contribution to philosophy, theology, general culture and Christian life; and the balance cannot be redressed from one side only.

When I speak of "The East," I mean the Orthodox churches in general, the Russian Orthodox Church in particular, and the Eastern churches in communion with the Holy See to the extent that they have kept their own proper religious consciousness unmodified by specifically Western influences and ideas.

And nothing that I say is intended to derogate one iota from the certain teaching in faith and morals of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of Christ.

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* This article is part of a paper read at a meeting of the Summer School of Russian Studies at Cambridge. It is a revised version of a section in a pamphlet published in the C.T.S. "comparative religion" series some years ago, *The Eastern Churches*.

The importance of Eastern Christianity as exemplified by the Orthodox can hardly be over-estimated, for Orthodoxy is something much more than (as it has been called) a "static edition of Catholicism minus the Pope" or a "kind of golden mean between Catholicism and Protestantism"—though what the particular essential quality of Eastern Christianity is has never yet been satisfactorily defined and formulated. This fundamental uncertainty is in large measure due to the varied and often conflicting views of the orientals themselves.

Here are some contrasted opinions on a matter of great importance: "The differences which separate [Catholics and Orthodox] are not irreconcilable . . . With [Protestants] we Orthodox have essential and humanly irreconcilable differences" (Professor Trembelas, of Athens); "There is no real disagreement between the Protestant point of view and that of the Orthodox Church; their opposition is chiefly external" (Archpriest Bulgakov); "although dogmatically we may differ but slightly from the Roman Church, nevertheless spiritually we are nearer to Protestantism—in freedom of thought and individualism" (an anonymous Greek theologian). In recent times Russia has commonly been looked on as the "world-church" of the East (not unnaturally in view of her tremendous numerical majority), and the dispersal by the revolution of many of her teachers throughout the West has further increased interest in their doctrines; on the other hand, the Greeks and others are not inactive, and in the inevitable conflict between the "Hellenic mind" and the "Russian soul" the Slavs do not "have it all their own way." It is impossible, therefore, to give in a short space an adequate account of the faith and spirit of Orthodoxy; the best that can be done is to make a few comparisons between it and a known thing, namely Catholicism as seen and understood in the Western church.

When compared with that of the Latin West, Eastern theology is found to be mystical or contemplative, strongly patristic, unsystematized, and undeveloped. While the West has paid far more attention to the relation of philosophy with theology, the East has excelled in the use made of the

teaching of the early Fathers. For the Orthodox the patristic period may be said (with certain reservations) never to have come to an end, and the absence of a scholastic period accounts to a considerable extent for the lack of system and formulation in their theological ideas. Some of the most outstanding matters of belief in traditional Christianity—*e.g.* concerning our Lady and the saints and the problems of eschatology—have never been properly developed and set out ; but that does not mean that they have no part in Eastern religion. It is true that for many the doctrinal statements of the seventeenth-century theologians, approved by patriarchs and synods, have the force of dogma ; but there has been a reaction against them (especially among the Russians), without doubt due in part to the pseudo-scholastic form—condemned as " Western rationalism "—in which those theologians presented their " confessions." An external characteristic of Eastern theology has been its social quality, emperors, and other laymen down to the " man in the street " taking an active and often intelligent part in theological discussions. Many distinguished Eastern theologians have been laymen : Khomiakov (1804-60) and Solovyev (1853-1900) in the past, Glubokovsky and Androutsos at the present ; at the Orthodox Theological Congress at Athens a year or two back most of the theologians present were laymen, and the Eastern layman takes an active part in parochial and diocesan administration and other phases of ecclesiastical life. Even licensed lay-preachers are not unknown. For historical reasons a special danger to Orthodoxy has been a degeneration into theological nationalism, and that danger has not been avoided, whether in the form of referring religious questions to a " racial soul " for solution or of crude nationalism in religious controversy.

The fundamental doctrinal divergence between Catholicism and Orthodoxy would seem to concern the Church herself as such, what she is and wherein resides her teaching authority. Even here, *especially* here, it is not possible to make a statement that will be valid and unquestioned among all Orthodox. What is certain is that, while Catholics so often tend to

emphasize the exterior, legal and social aspects of the Chur and her quantitative extension, the Orthodox are large indifferent to such considerations and are concerned almo exclusively with her spiritual aspects and the quality of h members and of their religious consciousness.[1] This is o reason for their indifference to what appear to Western ey as local schisms and the ravages of ecclesiastical nationalism these autocephalous churches, without the addition of a unity of church administration or common visible authorit find their unity in the common life of Christ's Mystical Bod confessing the same faith, sharing the same sacraments.

The scope of their unity of faith must not be ove estimated. They hold together doctrinally partly becau their common body of faith is so small as to admit of a wi field of doctrinal disagreement. Nevertheless, their uni of faith is remarkable when we consider their history and th almost total lack of those exterior aids to unity which t Catholic Church teaches to be essential.

The Church, said the late Chrysostom Papadopoulou Orthodox Archbishop of Athens, is the body of the faithf founded by Jesus Christ, an organization and an organis visible and invisible; its purpose is the sanctification of m and the building of the Kingdom of God; it is one, hol catholic and apostolic; as a visible society it is an infallib teacher. Thus far no Orthodox would dissent (though t word "catholic," *soborny*, would arouse discussion), but t Archbishop of Athens, even in the discussion of his definitio left a lot unsaid. How, for example, does the Church spea infallibly? The Orthodox patriarchs in their answer to t apostolic letter *In suprema* of Pope Pius IX in 1848 (whi is the point of departure of much recent discussion of t question) said: "The real guardian of religion is the bo of the Church, that is, the people itself"; and so we fi Khomiakov and his followers entirely dissociating the guardia ship of truth from the episcopal order and denying infallibili even to an oecumenical council. The decisions of such

[1] I must emphasize that I am speaking in generalizations, and that I am not consider the value of those things which seem to me to characterize or have a part in Russi Christianity, or of their opposites.

uncil are true and its status oecumenical only if the faithful tify and accept them; there is no *ecclesia docens* apart om the total Church. It is only a step from this to a denial at the Orthodox Church recognizes any external authority all, and some have taken that step: our Lord, His apostles, e councils, bishops (they say) are not "authority"; they e part of "the infinite stream of the life of grace."

These extreme opinions certainly do not represent aditional Orthodox teaching and, though popular, are less idely received than is often supposed. Greek and other ore conservative theologians maintain oecumenical councils be the highest authority in the Church, made dogmatically fallible by the direction of the Holy Ghost; if a given synod really oecumenical, then its decrees will receive the common cognition of the faithful. The "reunion council" of Florence would illustrate this view. It had every appearance being oecumenical, but the Orthodox at large repudiated . Therefore it was not oecumenical and infallible—but *t because* recognition was withheld; the God-guided verdict the people was the *test* of its objective status.

Even a "collective-conciliariat" like Father Bulgakov olds that a council to be oecumenical should be presided over the Pope, *and the extremest innovations among the Orthodox e generally exaggerations of elements found in Catholicism*—g., of the living part and priesthood of *all* members in the hurch. Time and again it is found that alleged differences etween traditional Orthodoxy and Catholicism are a matter different emphasis or way of expression; and in fact what ally separates Eastern dissidents from Rome is not so much eological dogma as the events of history and fundamental fferences of mind and temperament—deep-rooted variaons between Eastern and Western consciousness that cause entical doctrines and ideas to be clothed in such a way at they appear mutually and subtly opposed.

It is then not surprising to find that the oriental prefers interior process before, often at the expense of, external scipline; juridicism, legalism, in all its forms is foreign to im; his note is "passivity" (so-called) rather than

" activity." It is significant that the sacraments are adminis tered by deprecatory forms, " The servant of God N. is bap tized . . ." " May God, through me a sinner, forgive yo . . ." Confirmation is received passively by babes; ther is no *explicit* contract between the parties to a marriage the monk does not " make his profession " but " receive the habit "—and the rather " go as you please " life to whic he is admitted is invariably what in the West is called pureh contemplative, " the angelic life," and but rarely is he t receive holy orders.

Of course Orthodoxy recognizes episcopal authority an the force of canon law, and its opposition to juridicism not simply a partial making of the " order of authority dependent on the " order of holiness." The canonic principle of " economy " is a good illustration of these non juridical ideas; and some modern Russian theologians see to restate the doctrine of justification and salvation, whos later traditional presentation, they claim, is the result of to legalistic an attitude.

Nowhere is Eastern opposition to what it esteems legalis and authoritarianism more marked than in the sphere personal conduct. Horror is expressed at the precise direction and careful distinctions of Western moral theologians, a being manifestations of the letter which killeth; the spir which quickeneth is the soul's love and worship of God, an these are the only true subject-matter of Christian mor teaching. It follows that, in a large measure, the obligation of religion and morality are left to the individual conscienc rather than made the subject of positive law. For exampl the obligation of public worship. All that Eastern canon la has to say about it is that a Christian living in a town wh absents himself from church for three Sundays running sha be deprived of communion (canon 80 of the Council *in Trull* canon II of Sardica). No attempt is made to enforce thi This attitude does not operate entirely in favour of laxity The absence of a distinction between venial and mortal sin for example, is capable of being an aid to purity of conscienc and when there is no system of recognized dispensation th

ndividual does not necessarily supply one. This is illustrated y an incident told me by a French priest who had worked mong Byzantines. An old Catholic woman of that rite ound the Lenten fast very trying and her parish priest (trained nder Western influence) offered to dispense her. "You annot dispense me from the law of God," said she. "Then ne bishop can." "No, he cannot." "Then I will go to ne Pope for you." "His Holiness would be better employed asting himself than in releasing an old woman from it," was ne reply, not intended disrespectfully.

Actually, Eastern town-dwellers at least now disregard ne customary fasts more and more, for it is a physical impossiility for most lay people to keep them in modern conditions. t is to be noted that, whatever the practice may be, the neoretical standard of asceticism is more exacting in the East than in the West (except in the matter of marriage and ne clergy).

Western man has his mystics and contemplatives, some f the greatest, but in general he prides himself on being hat he calls a "practical fellow"; among the Slavs, on ne contrary, preoccupation with efficiency and order is little steemed, and mysticism, in a broad sense, is the heritage of ll. Holiness to them definitely means contemplation; the omplete recluse is, to a considerable extent, the practical s well as the abstract ideal of a holy man. Benedict-Joseph abre they understand at once; but men immersed in physical r social activities, such as Francis Xavier or John Bosco, they o not so easily recognize as great men of God. Seraphim, monk of Sarov who died in 1833 and was canonized by the Russian synod in 1903, was a typical figure and reminiscent nore of the fourth century in Egypt than the nineteenth n Europe. It is true that in a few countries, *e.g.* Rumania, fforts have been made to extend the scope of the technically erfect life—monks and nuns are urged to conduct schools, or instance—but it is an exterior movement, not rising spontaneously from the people's religion.

"God was made man," says St. Athanasius and other athers, "that we might be made gods," and all traditional

Christianity is essentially "divinizing," theandric. This strongly emphasized in the East. The primary significanc of Christ is that He communicates a new, eternal, and divi life to the believer; this divinized man is head and epitom of creation, and our Lady is his greatest glory. The divi incarnation operates thus on mankind through the Churc which is the extension of it, particularly by means of th sacraments, and especially the Eucharist. Communion considered primarily objectively: it is "something whic happens" to the Christian believer. At Easter, above al God enters into human life and transfigures it; it is a festiv of "here and now" rather than the commemoration of a historical resurrection: "Christ *is* risen"—"Truly He risen." Moreover, it looks forward to that great *parousi* never far away in the mind of the Russian Christian, "whe the Lord shall come again, with thousands of archange and hosts of angels, cherubim and seraphim six-winged an many-eyed, who sing, cry out, shout the hymn of victor Holy, Holy, Holy!"

To the devout oriental, especially the Slav, religion practically represented by intimate assistance in worship a the Eucharistic Liturgy (and other offices) and by person austerity, whose principal physical form is severe fastin The sacraments are primarily recognized as, and calle mysteries, and in the Eucharist this "hiddenness" is materiall emphasized, as by the *eikonostasis* and by the covered doo at the consecration. This instinct to cover holy things an the stress put on the sacrificial and social aspect, togeth with the historical circumstance that there have been in th East no heresies attacking the Real Presence to necessita its emphasis, result in complete absence of *cultus* of the Blesse Sacrament outside the Liturgy. It is reserved for the nee of the sick (otherwise communion "out of Mass" is, I believ unheard of), and It receives no worship in the tabernac distinct from the reverence that is accorded to the who sanctuary as the dwelling-place of God. *Eikons*, indee hold a place in individual devotion similar in extent to tha of the reserved Sacrament in the West; and these images

od and His holy ones—" channels of divine grace," as St. ohn Damascene calls them—seem almost to acquire a per- onality for the faithful without their veneration collapsing nto idolatry. This is part of that divinization which extends o everything in religious life and worship, to the whole of edeemed creation.

So supreme in Eastern spirituality is conscious participa- ion in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries that I will set ut a passage from a Greek father of the Church that sum- narizes their attitude superbly. It is rather long—but you ill listen more willingly to St. John Chrysostom than to me. What he says is the traditional ideal of the Western no less han of the Eastern church; but I submit that among us it is n ideal that in our day has to be *re*gained: the East has ot lost it. Chrysostom explains how the people should take art in this Holy Sacrifice, associating themselves with the riest as concelebrants, uniting in a common action with one nother and with Christ, the high priest, and he goes on:

Likewise do we all have our part in the receiving of these awe- nspiring Mysteries. It is no longer as it was under the Old Covenant, hen certain things were reserved to be consumed by the priest and ther things by the ministers, and the people were not allowed to artake of the priestly things. Now the same body and the same up are offered to all without distinction.

It is the same with the prayers, wherein the people have an important art . . . When those who are not yet permitted to take part in ne sacred meal [the catechumens, etc.] have left the assembly we egin a new prayer, in which the same observances are followed—we rostrate together, and together we rise again to our feet; and it is nen that we mutually give and receive the token of peace, exchanging holy kiss with one another.

It is true that at the heart of these tremendous mysteries the priest rays on behalf of the people—but the people also pray on behalf f him; that and nothing else is the meaning of the response 'and ith your spirit.' Even the eucharist [*i.e.*, the prayer of consecration] a common prayer; the priest does not give thanks alone but all ne people with him.

I admit that it is the priest who takes the leading part, but please otice that he does not begin the eucharistic prayer until you have ven him leave by declaring that to do so is a worthy and righteous et. [A reference to the last response before the preface, corresponding

to the '*Dignum et iustum est*' in the Latin Mass]. You need ha no surprise that the people join in with the priest when his own voi is joined with those of the cherubim and all the heavenly host in t holy song of the angels [the Sanctus].

I have said all this, my brethren, in order that each one of yo even he who feels himself the lowliest of all, may be attentive at t Holy Mysteries, that we may realize that we are all one body a that there is no difference between us other than the distinction betwe one member and another. So do not leave everything to the clerg but interest yourselves in all that is the concern of the whole Churc as befits those who form but one body. By so doing we shall n only be heard more readily in Heaven but we shall also greatly increa our own strength.

It is significant that the most devastating schism t Russian church has known, that of the *Starovery*, was part a result of the liturgical reforms of the Patriarch Nikon (1861). All Eastern religion is based upon its liturgical e pression, which is a work of the Christian church transfigurin from within, rather than from without (and often separatel as so frequently thought in the West. Hence part of t Orthodox fear of "latinization" from association with t Catholic Church; and hence, too, something of their natio particularism in religion and rites: *Pravoslavnaya* is "o Russian faith," Orthodoxy is "our Hellenic faith," a national egotism claims in effect a monopoly of Christi faith and life. This spirit is not unknown in the West, b it does not arise here from so remarkable a unity of ci and cultural life with the life of the Church, nor is it alli with that other Eastern element, a strong tendency towar an erastian dependence on the civil power. "The Church says Solovyev, "which is really the immovable rock of u versal unity and solidarity, becomes in [such-and-such Orthodox state] the palladium of a narrow nationalism a often the passive instrument of a selfish and spiteful policy."

Eastern transcendentality can and does produce supe examples of holiness and self-abnegation, and the wide fr dom of personal responsibility in belief and conduct is grate to the strong-souled and the critically-minded. But in pract it affords little exterior support to the weak, to the doubti to the spiritually maimed, halt and blind; and its striki

devotion may easily become superficial, whether from excessive emotionalism or from habit. So, too, morality decays, not so much from religious insufficiency in the soul of the people or in their faith, but chiefly from lack of instruction and example. Orientals are in general, as Berdyaev remarks, "less simply well-behaved, less 'decent,' than Westerners," though cupidity and hate are not Russian vices. The general spirit of detachment from the world so remarkable among Russians, and of a kind diffused, I think, nowhere among Western peoples, is often marked by an indifference to earthly sin (precisely because earthly) as well as by an indifference to earthly goods. And the believer, temperamentally overwhelmed by a sense of guilt, is apt to be so preoccupied with the internal struggle for righteousness that he overlooks the external manifestations of wickedness. Antinomianism and its other face, Encratism, seem not to be far away. And in fact they are not. Certain of the fanatical sects of Russian dissenters from Orthodoxy clearly show both their racial and their religious origins.

And this strong sense of personal sin partly accounts for the apparent Russian indifference—when contrasted with the West—to active social work, missionary enterprise, and so on. As a Russian Orthodox writer has recently put it: "There are but few Christians whose courage and zeal are such that they obtain sufficient freedom from the bondage of sin to be ready to confront the wider manifestations of evil in the social and national life of mankind."

To say that the difference between the Latin and the Russian religious temperament may be epigrammatically summed up as the difference between the prayers "Long live Christ the King" (that unfortunate phrase—as if the Lord Christ could live longer or less long!) and "O God, be merciful to me a sinner," to say that is to put it unfairly and misleadingly. But there seems to me much truth in the statement that whereas our Lord's passion and death is the centre of the "popular" devotional life of the West, in the East it is His rising from the dead, the resurrection. There is significance in the question once put by an Orthodox: "Why do Catholics look so miserable when they go to communion."

On the side of spiritual asceticism much is made of t orientals' striving after humility. Now Christian humil is not a monopoly of the Russians (as they would be t first to agree), and some of my Russian friends have oft expatiated to me on the subject of "Russian pride." B it does seem to be true that the Russians have kept a lot the spirit (formerly more widely diffused in Christendo that produces the phenomemon of people deliberately beco ing "fools for Christ's sake," sanctified simpletons. A it is beyond doubt that Russian Christianity has produc numbers of really lowly-minded folk, people who sought learn, not from "a master" but from other slaves of m and poor little ones of Christ, how to be "little."

I have said that there is no agreement as to what co stitutes the particular essence of Eastern Christianity. So Russians now find it in the principle of *sobornost*, a wo which (even if I understand it properly) I despair of maki clear. In the Slavonic version of the Symbol of Nica Constantinople *soborny* translates *catholic* (applied to t Church), but its meaning is far more subtle than the jeju interpretation *we* sometimes give to that sublime word.

Sobornost has been variously rendered in English "conciliarity," "integrality," "wholeness," "symphony "togetherness"—it is not one of these things ; it is all of them and more. It is, I think, what the Apostle Jude calls " common salvation." *Sobornost* comports diversity in uni unity in freedom, harmony triumphant over chaos, lo casting out fear, the victory of righteousness, salvation and through the united members of the Church—it is a cosm conception. And of course it is not a conception peculiar the Russian Church ; it is common and integral to all forms traditional Christianity. But so many and so distinguish contemporary Russians lay so much emphasis on it, make much of it (rightly enough) in the Christian world view, tha is necessary to make special reference to it. Its realizati is frequently put forward as *the* great and characteris contribution of Russia to Christianity.

DONALD ATTWATER

RICHARD KIRWAN

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PART III—DUBLIN BEFORE THE UNION [1]

KIRWAN'S health improved soon after his return to Ireland. He toured the provinces for a year, visited "improving" landlords, and then settled in Dublin. He took the house No. 6 Cavendish Row, where Dr. MacBride had carried out important experiments on tanning. He was to live the rest of his life in this house, the dozen years before the Union and the dozen years after. It amused him on Sunday afternoons to stand at the window and watch the mixed crowds who promenaded in the Rotunda Gardens. He picked out easily the conspicuous figure of the brilliant unecclesiastical Bishop of Derry, Hervey, Earl of Bristol, the extraordinary Englishman who wanted to lead the Volunteers against England: he was invariably dressed in purple, and wore white gloves with gold wrists and hanging gold tassels, and sported diamonds in his knee- and shoe-buckles. Kirwan found his eccentricities more diverting than those of Buck Whaley, who had just been to Jerusalem for a wager. On occasion Kirwan visited the Lying-in Hospital opposite, soon to be pre-eminent in the teaching of midwifery, and he became interested in Dr. Clarke's experiments on ventilation. He visited more frequently the Assembly Rooms, especially when celebrities like Mrs. Siddons attended to help the funds of Mosse's Hospital.

Kirwan found the Ascendancy Capital congenial. Many absentees had been drawn back by the attractive life of the brilliant Irish metropolis; and the city, despite an increase in unemployment among the weavers of the Coombe and the Liberties, had the appearance of a hive of industry, as well as being a haunt of fashion. The repair of the streets had

[1] For Parts I and II see September and December (1939) issues.

been taken out of the hands of a corrupt Corporation, and the Wide Street Commissioners had done their work well. The principal avenues of the city, enlarged and new-paved and lighted with improved double-burner lamps, he noted, were crowded with private sedan chairs and the splendid equipages of the profuse aristocracy and gentry. The beauty of the private mansions, like Leinster's ducal palace and Powerscourt House, was rivalled by the magnificence of the public buildings. As a fitting continuation to spacious Sackville Street, a great new bridge had sprung across the Liffey, and standing on it he could admire Gandon's new Custom House. Higher up the river arose the splendid Four Courts and Inns of Court, and he reflected with a feeling of pride that the English judges still sat in sheds off Westminster Hall. Even the prisons had improved from the time he had made acquaintance with them; poor debtors received consideration, public baths had been instituted and the poor were admitted free of charge. In these reforms, Dublin was leading the world.

In Cavendish Row Kirwan resumed his conversazioni and associated with the chief literary and scientific characters of the day. A great mixture of ranks and opinions characterised these gatherings. Kirwan received visits from the different Viceroys; from Secretary Pelham and his friend Count von Rumford, who was finding Dublin an ideal place for his experiments on cooking and the proper warming of houses and domestic economy generally (for quite a while "Count Rumford's kitchens" was the fashionable topic of conversation); from Sir Lawrence Parsons, father of the astronomer, the third Earl of Rosse; from Speakers Conolly and Foster and Judge Daly and a gentleman famous for his duels, Lord Norbury, "whose buffooneries on the Bench had no parallel since the seventeenth century"; from Lord Charlemont who, according to Macaulay, "gave the tone to the society of the age." (His house, the 'Holland House of Dublin,' was a minute's walk from Kirwan's; the Duke of Portland was 'cultivating' him to induce him to give the 'proper tone' to the Volunteers); from Lord Moira, whose

ood breeding, like that of Charlemont, was outstanding in
n age of polished manners. His house on the South Quays
as ' the seat of refined hospitality, of good nature and good
onversation ' (Moira House, decapitated by a storey, stands
o-day bleakly back from the river, as if ashamed of the title
now bears—Mendicity Institution).

Other intimates of Kirwan were the Provost and Fellows
f Trinity College ; Hely Hutchinson, the ' prancing ' place-
unter ; Magee and Davenport, professors of mathematics and
atural philosophy ; Graves, tutor to Robert Emmet ; Kear-
ey and Hall, who became bishops ; Young, a keen student
f Irish and tutor to Wolfe Tone ; and later the illustrious
rinkley, who was to make Dunsink Observatory known in
ne scientific world. Archbishop Troy, who took up residence
n Cavendish Row about the same time as Kirwan, was an
ccasional visitor. General Vallancey, Kirwan's collaborator
or almost a quarter of a century at the Dublin Society and
n the Irish Academy, came frequently. There was always a
ood sprinkling of medical men, like Whitley Stokes, dis-
nguished father of a more distinguished son, and Dr. Perceval,
eenly interested in spreading the new theory of chemistry.
mong barristers were William Preston, of whom it was said
there is not a more elegant or accurate classical scholar
n the United Kingdom" ; William Ball, known as Index
all on account of his complete catalogue of all the Irish
atutes ; and William Sampson, legal defender of many
nited Irishmen. The Catholics who frequented Kirwan's
onversazioni were mostly medical men, as medicine was
ne only profession open to them—or rather half-open to
nem, since they continued to be debarred from fellowship
f the College of Physicians.

A young doctor who became a special friend of Kirwan's
as William James MacNeven. He attracted Kirwan's
ttention through a pamphlet he published in Dublin, a
anslation of a German work on an improved drill for earth
oring. Kirwan first met him at the *salon* of the celebrated
rs. Lefanu, the sister of the great Sheridan, and he formed
igh hopes that the young man, a native of his own county,

would become an eminent chemist. Had MacNeven bee less ardently patriotic, it is likely that he would have achiev great distinction in science or in literature. Born in C Galway in 1763, he was sent at the age of eleven to Pragu where his uncle, Baron MacNeven, was physician to t Empress Maria Theresa. He received his classical educati in the College at Prague, entered the medical school there a finished his professional studies at Vienna, taking his M. degree at the age of twenty. He commenced the practice his profession in Dublin a year or two later, and had co siderable success as a physician. He became a vigoro member of the Catholic Committee and was prominent the revolt against the timid aristocratic leaders, Lords Ke mare and Trimbleston. In 1796, with Arthur O'Conn and Thomas Addis Emmet, he formally joined the Unit Irishmen and, becoming a member of the Directory, w largely responsible for the guidance of the Society, to whi he helped to give a military organisation. (He later wro a book entitled *Nature and Functions of an Army Staf* The following year he went to Paris to stimulate the effo of the French, and he drew up a very elaborate memoir the state of Ireland and on the best means of invading it. returned to Dublin in October. He found Kirwan's politi ideas similar to his own and Kirwan was sworn by him in the Society of United Irishmen.[1]

In March 1798 MacNeven was arrested and imprisone After his release he travelled in Switzerland, Austria a France, and eventually went to America, where he had a lo and distinguished career as a teacher and physician (180 1841). He occupied several important medical positions New York. As a disciple of Kirwan he took special inter

[1] There is an interesting reference to the part played by Kirwan during a raid in 1 Kirwan was then 65. "The worthy Mr. Kirwan, the philosopher, was going one morn from his house in Cavendish Row to the Dublin Society, and as he passed the end of Ab Street he saw parties of military, yeomanry and police making domiciliary visits; was a kind-hearted man, and intimate with Sampson, whom he suspected (and as it in turned out) to be one of the United Irishmen, and thinking he would be visited, a lived in that street, he hurried to his lodgings and told him what was going on, advi him, if he had any papers which might compromise him, to destroy them instan Sampson immediately threw many papers into the fire. So far I had from Kirwan him He immediately left Sampson, and had not gone far, when he saw his lodgings visited. General G. Cockburn, *Letters on Subjects Important to England*, 1831. See Madd *United Irishmen*, iv, 355.

chemistry, and he published in 1820 an exposition of the omic theory which attracted favourable notice on both sides the Atlantic. About the same time he brought out an lition of Brande's *Chemistry* which was used extensively as text-book.[1]

The religious attitude of Kirwan's circle echoed the strange unds that were ringing in wider spheres, and Churchmen, atholics and Presbyterians met at No. 6 Cavendish Row ithout feeling of strain. Politics had begun to dominate er religion. Paine's *Rights of Man* had become the Bible Belfast, and there was a remarkable decline of sectarian gotry before the creation of Orangeism and the reaction from e Rebellion towards the end of the century. Hely Hutchin- n admitted Catholic students to Trinity College a decade fore the legal relaxation of the penal code in 1793, and he oke in the Irish Parliament in favour of establishing a Chair Catholic Theology in the University. When Law, another end of Kirwan's, was appointed to the See of Killala, finding e people of his diocese almost exclusively Catholic, he tributed Catholic books amongst them, declaring that as could not make them good Protestants, he would at least to make them good papists. Liberalism and deism were the air blown from the Continent. There was high regard Rousseau, and the Duchess of Leinster had thought of ering him a refuge at Maynooth about the time he quitted e home provided for him in England by David Hume, the ilosopher. Familiarity with the *Social Contract* and *Emile* s fashionable in Dublin, and there were many who com- ed deism in creed with established religions in worship. e prominence of traditional dogmas in religious teaching minished. The courtly Dr. O'Leary was the most brilliant iter on the Catholic side, yet his presentation of its un- mpromising doctrines caused Grattan to exclaim: "If I not know him to be a Christian clergyman, I should suppose n by his writings to be a philosopher of the Augustan age."

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[1] His other works were: *Pieces of Irish History, Arguments in Opposition to a Union, ... to the People of Ireland* (1825) and *A Ramble through Switzerland*. His medical scientific career is recorded in the *New York Medical Gazette*, 11 Aug., 1841. For life, see Madden's *United Irishmen* and Lecky's *History of Ireland in the 18th Century*.

The popular preacher, Dean Kirwan, declared on joining the established church: "Though I have changed the sphere of my exertions, they shall still, under God, be invariably directed to the same object—to improve the human heart, to enlarge and enlighten the understanding of men, to banish religious prejudices and diffuse through society the great blessings of peace, order and mutual affection." Many men of high degree or of unimpeached honour forsook the faith of their fathers not because of the penal laws (whose enforcement was now relaxed), but because most of them had imbibed deism at home or abroad and others had motives that now appear slender or petty.[1]

The most notable case was that of Richard Kirwan's cousin, Walter Blake Kirwan, Dublin's most fashionable pulpit orator. Born in Co. Galway in 1754, he was educated at St. Omer's, where (he was accustomed to say) "he imbibed the noble ambition of benefiting mankind." After ordination he became professor of natural and moral philosophy in the University of Louvain, and was subsequently appointed chaplain to the Neapolitan ambassador in London. In 1787 he came to Dublin, where the amount of degraded poverty he saw made a profound impression on him, but gave him no desire to be another Father Betagh. Within a month he read his recantation. He justified his apostasy on the ground that the established church gave him a larger sphere of practical usefulness and allowed him to preach a pure and unsectarian morality and, above all, to plead the cause of the poor and the suffering. He was one of the first to introduce extempore speaking into the Irish Church, and he became by far the greatest of Irish preachers. (Barrington coupled him with Curran and Sheridan, and Croker placed him as an orator in the same rank with Pitt and Canning). His charity sermons

[1] Cf. Lecky, *Hist. of Ireland*, **2**, 202 and Brenan, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Aug. 1937, p. 118. Begley, *Hist. of the Diocese of Limerick* (1938) **3**, 250, writes: "Dr. Laurence Nihill, Bishop-Elect of Kilfenora, was consecrated in Limerick in 1784 when the preacher was Father Irwin, O.S.F., who took for his subject Apostasy. One of the assistant bishops, Dr. Butler, Bishop of Cork and afterwards Lord Dunboyne, and the preacher, in a few years, fell away from the faith." Fitzpatrick (*Life of Dr. Lanigan*, p. 73) makes Dean Kirwan the preacher, but Kirwan appears to have been in London at the time. See Davis, *Irish Footprints*, p. 65, for the case of Dr. T. L. O'Beirne, Protestant Bishop of Meath, and Whitelaw, *Hist. of Dublin*, **2**, 932, for the oscillations of Fr. Denis Taafe, one of the founders of the Gaelic Society (1808).

became a feature in the life of the Irish Capital, and ladies of rank vied with one another for the honour of carrying round the silver plate. The collections increased at once to four and five times the usual amount. Fifteen hundred pounds was taken on one occasion. The ascendancy within the ascendancy had little use for Dean Kirwan's talents, perhaps on account of his attachment to Whig principles and his firm friendship with Grattan, and Lord Westmorland frankly, if cynically, told him: "Government must reserve its high rewards for the services of its friends." He was provided with a small living, while English clerics were promoted over his head to the swollen prizes of the Irish church.[1]

Richard Kirwan was proud of his cousin's successes in the pulpit, yet strangely enough he never heard him preach a charity sermon. Richard went to neither church nor chapel on the ground that taking off his hat made him catch cold and gave him rheumatism. In court or at levées in the Castle, there was tolerance, if not respect, for his scruples, which were ascribed to profound belief in the caloric theory of warmth, and he was permitted to keep his head covered. But it was rumoured in some circles in Dublin that he was an atheist, while in France he was being derided for defending

[1] Grattan eulogised him while raising his case in the Irish Parliament (1792). "This man," he said, "preferred our country and our religion, and brought to both genius superior to what he found in either. He called forth the latent virtue of the human heart and taught men to discover in themselves a mine of charity of which the proprietors had been unconscious. In feeding the lamp of charity he has almost exhausted the lamp of life. He came to interrupt the repose of the pulpit, and shakes one world with the thunder of the other. The preacher's desk becomes the throne of light. Around him a train, not such as crouch and swagger at the levée of princes, not such as attend the procession of the Viceroy, horse, foot, and dragoons, but that wherewith a great genius peoples his own state—charity in ecstasy and vice in humiliation—vanity, arrogance and saucy empty pride appalled by the rebuke of the preacher, and cheated for a moment of their native improbity and insolence. What reward? St. Nicholas within or St. Nicholas without. The curse of Swift is upon him, to have been born an Irishman and a man of genius and to have used it for the good of his country. Had he, instead of being the brightest of preachers, been the dullest of lawyers; had he added to dulness venality; had he aggravated the crime of venality and sold his vote—he would have been a Judge. Or, had he been born a blockhead, bred a slave, and trained up in a great English family and handed over as a household circumstance to the Irish Viceroy, he would have been an Irish Bishop and an Irish Peer, with a great patronage, perhaps a borough, and had returned members to vote against Ireland. And the Irish parochial clergy must have adored his stupidity and deified his dulness. Ireland is not the element in which a native genius can rise, unless he sells that genius to the Court and atones by the apostasy of his conduct for the crime of his nativity." There is a sketch of Kirwan's life prefixed to his sermons (London, 1814). A fine biography of him is to be found in the *Remains of the Rev. S. O'Sullivan*. See also Hardiman, *Hist. of Galway*, p. 318. Dean Kirwan died in 1805, leaving his widow and family poorly provided for. A son of his became Dean of Limerick.

the Mosaic account of creation. The truth was that, under the influence of his friend Dr. Priestley, he had become a Unitarian. Unlike the pilloried Priestley, he dissembled his religious opinions in public and discussed them mildly with his friends in Cavendish Row

Great as were Kirwan's social activities, greater still were his activities in the sphere of science. Soon after settling in Dublin he became prominent in the affairs of the Dublin Society and as a member of the Irish Academy. The Academy had been founded (1785) while he was living in London, with Lord Charlemont as first President. He joined it immediately along with Edmund Malone, the great Shakespearean scholar. (Both their names occur in the list of original members). Between 1788 and 1808 he contributed no less than thirty-eight memoirs to the Transactions of the Academy (some of the papers are very long, one of them running into two hundred and forty pages). It is not easy for us to estimate the original value of these communications in consequence of the rapid advance of science within the last century and a half, but we have a great deal of contemporary opinion as to their high worth. The mainspring of Kirwan's activity was the desire to apply the fruits of science for the benefit of his country without neglecting pure science. His was not the specialist mind to accept the pernicious cleavage which has since been made between pure science which excavates only knowledge and applied science which is a gold-digger. He believed that the discoveries of the chemist and the exploits of the engineer should be utilised to ease the struggle for human existence and lead to the economic independence of the nation. The poorer the resources of the country, the greater its need of science. He was a pioneer in the work that Sir Robert Kane was to do so splendidly half a century later in *The Industrial Resources of Ireland.* He regarded the Academy, apart from its main object of promoting learning and science, as an important instrument for the good of Ireland and as a means of bringing into notice talent which might otherwise perish in obscurity. Having now reached the age when experimenting was arduous, he scouted for young talent or attracted

it, and he was generous in praising it when he had found it. His own work helped to earn for the Academy a reputation not altogether insignificant among the learned societies and academies of Europe, even if some of the questions which exercised the learned body in its early days are apt to provoke a twentieth-century smile and a reminiscence of the proceedings of the Pickwick Club. Its efforts compare very favourably with those of contemporary institutions.

All except six of Kirwan's papers in the *Transactions of the Irish Academy* deal with scientific subjects. In pure science Kirwan continued his experiments on the strength of acids and the proportion of ingredients in neutral salts (1790–97). His tables of acid densities were highly praised and were incorporated into the current textbooks as standard data. As an example of the repute in which Kirwan was held at this period (1790), we may instance that when Dr. Crawford found what he suspected to be a new earth near Stronthian in Scotland, it was to Kirwan that he sent a specimen for an authoritative examination. The Irish analyst, with the assistance of " Mr. William Higgins, now superintendent of our Apothecaries Hall, whose chemical abilities are well known and likely to be eminently useful to this country," carried out exhaustive tests, established that the substance was a new earth intermediate between heavy spar and lime, and christened it Stronthianiate. The mineral, now called strontianite, is the carbonate of the element strontium. Its salts are used in the making of fireworks to give a crimson flame, and its oxides are used by our industrialists in Carlow to purify beet-sugar, as its compounds are non-poisonous. Kirwan's " Thoughts on Magnetism " (1796) has many excellent observations on crystallisation, which he regarded as analogous to magnetisation. He does not use the misleading term ' magnetic fluid ' in his paper, and in this is greatly in advance of his contemporaries. His paper on chemical and mineralogical nomenclature (1800) was not without influence in the scientific world. He argued that new compounds should have names expressing both members of the compound, but the names should be as few, short, and simple

as possible. When compounds had already simple name those names should be retained, as nitre, borax, and soa He held that the principle of denomination according t elementary composition would lead to irksome prolixit He did not favour calling common salt sodium-chloride, an he is probably turning in his grave at such sesquipedalia denominations as dimethoxy-triphenylcarbinol and pheny azo-di-p-dimethylaminobenzylidene-diacetoresorcinol, even he knows they are occupying the attention of Irish researc chemists. Kirwan introduced new chemical terms of h own and many of them have passed into common usag Chemists owe to him the handy term ' tartarin ' for the sub stance called vegetable alkali and the convenient abbreviatio oxy for oxygenated. He gave the name ' calp ' to the blac quarry stone of Dublin, and the mineral ' kirwanite ' is c course called after him.

A number of memoirs written by Kirwan before 180 brought him into the great geological controversy which wa then raging. Kirwan's correspondent, Werner, Professor o mineralogy at Freiburg in Saxony, had examined the rock in his own neighbourhood and had tabulated them accordin to their mineralogical character. He propounded a theor for their origin and generalised his theory to strata throughout the world. He regarded all formations as having bee deposited on the bed of a universal ocean, the waters of whic had now subsided. His disciples swallowed his theory hook line and sinker, and wherever they went strove to reconcil observed facts with it. They received the name of Neptun ists or Wernerians. Their doctrines were powerfully assaile by the French geologists Desmarest and Dolomieu. Th former made an admirable geological map of the volcani region of Auverge, and the latter adduced evidence in favou of the volcanic origin of the rocks in the south of France The controversy thus provoked between the Neptunists and th Vulcanists proceeded with fierce bitterness and extended t Scotland where Hutton was laying the foundations of hi theory of the earth, and later to Ireland, where Kirwan wa theorising on the origin of Irish granites and the origin o

e basaltic columns of the Giant's Causeway. In 1798 Sir mes Hall, in support of Hutton's theory, proved by experi- ent that molten rock may give rise to lava or basalt accord- g to the pressure under which the cooling takes place. irwan made shrewed observations on Ball's experiments and inted out the dangerous ambiguity of Hutton's statement that he could find no traces of a beginning of the world." rofessor Playfair of Edinburgh, a disciple of Hutton, then eated Kirwan " with great asperity because he presumed to nsure the tendency of Dr. Hutton's opinions." Rev. Dr. ichardson now intervened, as having special familiarity ith the curious phenomena of the Giant's Causeway, and roceeded to castigate Mr. Playfair for censuring Mr. Kirwan. hen open attacks were made on the cosmogony of Moses, irwan issued his *Geological Essays* (1799) to show that the count given in the Book of Genesis is in no way incompatible ith any fact elicited by geological research. His friend eluc, the celebrated Swiss physicist and a Vulcanist, also fended the Scriptural account of creation.[1]

Eighteen of Kirwan's contributions to the *Transactions* eal with meteorology. Besides these he published other orks on the subject, and he worked energetically to make the actical study of it popular in the British Isles. On the eoretical side, his estimate of the *Temperatures of Different atitudes* (1787) was highly praised, especially by the great ientist Lalande.[2] It was translated into French by Adet aris, 1789, 180 pp.) Kirwan's inquiry into the causes of the se and fall of the barometer (1788) is modern in its sound- ss. His essay on the variations of the atmosphere (1801) a miniature meteorological treatise and has sections on the mperature of the atmosphere, its density and humidity, uses of evaporation, general and variable winds, atmos- eric precipitations, weather forecasting and an appendix

[1] Cauchy comments in the *Biographie Universelle :* " . . . Les ennemis de la foi, s leur manière d'apprécier les systèmes des deux géologues [Kirwan and Deluc], se t montrés fort opposés à Kirwan. Mais insensiblement les progrès de la géologie montré qu'il n'a point eu autant de tort qu'on l'a cru."

[2] *Journal des Savants*, Sep., 1790. ". . . On n'avait point encore fait sur la météoro- ie un ouvrage aussi savant, aussi raisonné, aussi combiné, où l'on trouve un aussi reux assemblage des observations et de la théorie physique ; mais c'est ce qu'on devait endre d'un aussi grand chemiste que M. Kirwan."

on Deluc's hygrometer. On the observational side Kirwa published annual records of the state of the weather in Dubli from 1788 to 1808. The elements he recorded were pressur temperature and rainfall, and later the wind strength an direction. His observations number about fifty thousan He installed his instruments at Cavendish Row, taking th necessary precautions to get reliable readings. He wa assisted by the " Rev. Mr. McMahon, whose skill and diligen in matters of this nature are well known." Rev. Dr. Bernar McMahon was a Catholic priest who had spent three yea measuring the tides of Dublin Bay and had drawn up the tid tables adopted by the Commissioners of the Custom House.[1]

Kirwan was one of the first who had visions of meteorolog becoming a science. He hoped that, with a long series accurate observations carried out all over the world, som general laws might at length be deduced applicable to clim tology and weather forecasting. He tried to set up a networ of meteorological posts in different parts of Ireland. Und his supervision and at his charge, thirty sets of barometer thermometers and rain gauges were constructed and di tributed through the country. The immediate response wa not encouraging. He received observations from Athlon Belfast and Galway, and later from Henry Edgeworth Edgeworthstown and from Dr. William Paterson at Derr Further observations were communicated to him as he beg to meet with a large measure of success in forecasting th weather for farmers, and the country became ' barometer conscious.' In his ' prognostics ' of wet and dry seasons, H used the observations of Dr. Rutty made at Dublin fro 1725 to 1765. His method of long-period forecasts wa based on average rainfalls. " If we had tables of the rai fall in each month for eighty or a hundred years, we migh calculate the monthly mean and deduce the probable rai fall in the succeeding months. The table would every ye grow more perfect and in time approach very near the truth Whatever about the validity of his method, so many farme wrote to him before sowing their crops that he had to empl

[1] A short account of Father McMahon and of his device for warning shipping of safe time for crossing Dublin Bar is given in Walsh's *History of Dublin*, p. 1085.

special secretary to deal with their queries about the weather. His must be one of the earliest weather-bureaux on record). Kirwan was of course familiar with the use of the barometer and hygrometer for short range forecasts, and he appears to have been one of the first in the British Isles to appreciate the importance of recording maximum and minimum temperatures. He prides himself on doing so in advance of the Royal Society in London.

Kirwan's contribution to instrumental meteorology is negligible. His 'new anemometer' or wind gauge was an improved form of Bouguer instrument, which measured the pressure and direction of the wind. Other Irish scientists have been interested in the anemometer, notably the distinguished Rev. T. R. Robinson of the Armagh Observatory, whose cup anemometer has been a standard fitting for nearly a century in meteorological observations over the world from Valentia to Zi-Ka-Wei. The idea of this instrument was suggested to him by Kirwan's friend, Richard Lovell Edgeworth (father of Maria Edgeworth), who was a great mechanical genius. He was employed by the French government in 1772 to turn the course of the Rhone by means of machinery which he constructed for the purpose. He invented a signalling telegraph (1795) by means of which he sent messages from Ireland to Scotland, and could send messages from Dublin to London in forty minutes instead of forty hours. He once showed Dr. Robinson a hydraulic and wind motor he had invented to measure the ascent of the balloon in which the rash Irishman, Crosby, made his perilous adventures from Dublin in 1785. It consisted of the covers of a child's globe attached to a rod and revolving by the difference of the pressures on the concave and convex surfaces. Robinson turned it so that it rotated horizontally and he had at once his well-known anemometer.

During the period I have been dealing with, Kirwan made other interesting contributions to applied science, agricultural chemistry, mineralogy and chemical analysis, but defer consideration of them until another occasion.

P. J. McLaughlin

NEW LIGHT ON THE IMITATION OF CHRIST

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.

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WHO wrote the *Imitation of Christ?* The question ha been debated for the past five hundred years, and th controversy reached its climax in the nineteenth centur Dublin readers will not need to be reminded that a distinguishe Dublin doctor, Sir Francis Cruise, took a keen interest in th debate and made some contributions of real value in h defence of Thomas a Kempis as the true author of this famou book. The appearance of Father van Ginneken's late publication, in which (not for the first time) he argues a length in support of a new claimant, the Dutch reform Gerard Groote, has sent me back to Sir Francis Cruise summary of the controversy as it stood just fifty years ago *Thomas a Kempis* (London, 1887). The book has retaine much of its value through these past fifty years, and I a not sure that Sir Francis, though unaware of some moder discoveries, has not come as near as the learned Dutch Jesu to a true solution of this age-old problem.

Since the matter is of some general interest, I may perhap be allowed to summarise, so far as I understand it, the preser state of the controversy. Only an expert student, after som years of detailed study, could venture a decided opinion; bu all lovers of the *Imitation* may be pardoned for wishing t know how things stand.

Fifty years ago three rival claimants were supported fro various quarters, each as the true author of the *Imitation*. Th traditional opinion was (and still is) the common opinion: tha Thomas a Kempis, an Augustinian Canon Regular of Mou

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* *Trois Textes pré-Kempistes du premier livre de l'Imitation.* Edités et commen par Jac. van Ginneken, S.J. 156 pp. (Koninkl. Nederlandsche Akademie, XLI Amsterdam 1940. 4.50 fl.

The Following of Christ: the Spiritual Diary of Gerard Groote (1340–1384). Translat into English from original Netherlandish Texts as edited by James van Ginneken, S. by Joseph Malaise, S.J. New York: America Press 1939. (Cheap Edition) $1.

int-Agnes near Zwolle, wrote the book. A group of French iters maintained that Jean de Gerson, the famous Chancellor the University of Paris, was the true author. Others, for e most part Benedictine writers, supported the claims of a ythical Italian Abbot Gersen, who was supposed to have ved in the thirteenth century. No serious scholar supports e claim of Gerson or the Abbot Gersen to-day. For a variety reasons there is general agreement that the *Imitation of hrist*, whatever its primitive form, was written in the Dutch etherlands either in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in the first quarter of the fifteenth. It belongs in spirit to at sudden flowering of mystic fervour which is one of the ief glories, as we look back to-day from our modern world, the Flemish and Dutch Netherlands in the late Middle Ages. o that extent Sir Francis Cruise and all other apologists of homas a Kempis have been fully justified by more recent search.

In fairness to these older scholars, it is well to remember at they admitted that the *Imitation of Christ* was partly the ork of one man, partly the product of a whole school of ysticism. To quote Sir Francis (page 177): "We admit e obvious fact that a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* is his asterpiece, embodying not alone his own ascetical knowledge, ut also the accumulated wisdom of the Circle of Windesheim, om which it will be seen he borrowed largely." And again age 192): "It seems evident that he was not the sole or iginal author in the ordinary sense of the word. On the her hand, it is equally manifest that he was the skilled ranger and compiler of the doctrine he teaches." That ew needs to be somewhat modified in the light of modern scoveries; but it is still, as fifty years ago, very near the uth, so far as I can judge.

Thomas a Kempis was born in 1380. He entered the ugustinian priory of Mount Saint-Agnes near Zwolle in 1399, nd died there in May 1471. His autograph manuscript of e four books of the *Imitation* is still extant and is preserved the Royal Library at Brussels. Thomas has copied the xt without making any note as to the name of the author;

but the rest of the manuscript, also written in his own han contains nothing but certainly authentic treatises of his ow composition. The manuscript is dated 1441. An earli manuscript, dated 1437 and by another hand, names Thom as the author. And there are numerous other contempora witnesses to this tradition. The question at issue is simpl Was Thomas a Kempis no more than the editor or reviser of a earlier text? Or was he the author of the *Imitation* in th true sense of the word? To put the same question in anothe form: are the experiences described so vividly in the fou books of this spiritual masterpiece his personal experiences Or has Thomas done no more than give literary form to th spiritual diary of another mystic?

Modern research, adding to the results of earlier worker has shown that there are at least three distinct types of Lati texts, all earlier in date than the text as copied in 1441 b Thomas a Kempis. There is also an early Dutch text, fro which the English translation, first published by the Americ Press in 1937, has been made by Father Malaise. In th paper which he has just published, Father van Ginneke prints, in parallel columns, the Latin text of the first book the *Imitation*, as given in the three early forms of the tex and as given in the text of 1441. Here is an exceedingl important contribution to the critical study of these earl versions. And the editor has undoubtedly proved his poin when he argues that the text as copied by Thomas a Kempi is no more than a beautifully cadenced revision of the las of the three earlier texts, to which he has given the generi name P. The relation of P to the two earlier types, whic he distinguishes as O^{12} and O^{19} (a classification derived fro two typical manuscripts of these earlier versions), is not s clear. The shortest and apparently the primitive form is tha found in the MSS. classed as O^{12}; and the early Dutch tex corresponds with this type. Father van Ginneken holds tha this group of manuscripts gives us the primitive text of th *Imitation of Christ*. But he goes much further, and argue that this text is earlier than 1384 and is in its origin th spiritual diary of Gerard Groote, written in Dutch during hi

e, copied and translated into Latin by his disciples after s death. The Latin text was revised and expanded by more an one editor, and was finally given the form with which odern readers are familiar by Thomas a Kempis, a saintly onk of one of the Augustinian priories founded by Gerard's sciples soon after their master's death.

Here Father van Ginneken will be the first to admit that e is going beyond the evidence of his manuscripts. Several rly MSS. of this primitive form give the author's name as *nctus frater Carthusianus* or *per quendam Cartusiensem in heno*. Occasionally, this unknown Carthusian's name has een crossed out and the name of Thomas a Kempis added by later hand. Apparently the oldest manuscript tradition vours Carthusian authorship and locates the author in the hineland. One manuscript is more definite : *Incipit libellus uidam devotus copulatus a quodam devoto Cartusiense domus elrie.* There was only one medieval Charterhouse in uelderland : at Monnikhusen, on the Rhine near Klarenbeek. Ve have thus some manuscript tradition for associating the rliest form of the *Imitation* with the Charterhouse of onnikhusen. The trials and temptations, the joys of mystic tercourse with Christ, the calumnies and other crosses xperienced by this unnamed monk, have been the food of ountless souls ever since. His name is buried in true arthusian silence.

The Carthusian origin of this primitive text would seem o be confirmed by the existence of a group of manuscripts, erived from the German Charterhouse of Hildesheim, Erfurt nd Eisenach, in which a well-known treatise (*Exercitatorium*) f a Carthusian prior, Heinrich Eger of Kalkar, is inserted as n extra book between Books I and II of the *Imitation* as we ow know it. But it is possible that this group (P) is not of arthusian origin, though frequently copied by Carthusian cribes. It may be an early form of the a Kempis text.

Father van Ginneken has a very much more ingenious and ttractive theory to account for all these facts. Heinrich Eger as responsible for the conversion of Gerard Groote in or about he year 1370. Hitherto Gerard had been a brilliant student

at Paris and then a wealthy, fashionable and careless youn cleric in the Rhineland. The Carthusian prior won his soul fo Christ, as Ignatius won Francis Xavier a century and a ha later. Gerard was as ardent as Xavier, and at first he wishe to give himself completely to Christ in the Charterhouse o Monnikhusen, where Heinrich Eger was then prior. He reside at Monnikhusen for the next three years as an oblate of th order (1370–73)—very much as Thomas More was later t reside in the London Charterhouse in his early years, whe he was still doubtful as to his true vocation. After thes three years Eger advised Gerard to seek a more active for of life as a reformer and preacher. For the next few year Gerard prepared himself for his task by intensive study of th Scriptures and the Fathers. His active work as a preache began in 1378, but he never consented to be ordained to th priesthood. His amazingly successful work as a preacher wa done in deacon's orders.

Success was soon followed by contradictions and by th bitter opposition of those whom he had criticised. Slanderou rumours were spread abroad, and Gerard's letters—which hav recently been edited by another learned Dutch Jesuit—sho that he felt these attacks and that he protested against them The blow fell in 1383, when the Bishop of Utrecht suspende him from all exercise of the preacher's office. For less tha twelve months he lived on, surrounded by a group of arden disciples, but under a cloud of misunderstanding and calumny He died in August 1384.

Within a year of his death one of his most faithful disciples Florent Radewijn, founded a priory of Augustinian Canon Regular at Windesheim ; and from this centre another prior was founded at Mount Saint-Agnes, where Thomas a Kempi was later to spend his religious life. Both priories were i the immediate neighbourhood of Zwolle in Overyssel. Bu Radewijn himself and several other leading disciples of Gerar Groote did not enter these new priories. They preferred t lead a life more closely modelled on the life of their saintl master, and they founded the new community of the Brethre of the Common Life at Deventer. This small group of kindre

ommunities was known at first by the generic name of "The ew Devotion." Thomas a Kempis spent seven years under adewijn at Deventer before entering Mount Saint-Agnes, here his elder brother was already prior. He spent more an seventy years within its walls, and has left us beautiful onuments of his skill as a scribe as well as a whole series of evotional works—none of which have ever rivalled the *nitation of Christ* as guides to the spiritual life.

These historical connections show that there were many nks between Gerard Groote, Heinrich Eger, Florent Radewijn nd Thomas a Kempis. The manuscript evidence confirms nis conclusion. For there still remains an early group of anuscripts (classified by Father van Ginneken as O^{19}) in hich the primitive text of the *Imitation*, as composed by ne *Cartusiensis in Rheno*, has been expanded and revised by n unnamed editor. The additional material strongly suggests nat this type of text is due to a revision by Zerbolt of Zutphen, ne of Gerard's disciples who joined Radewijn at Deventer. here are thus two early revised versions of the primitive ext: one apparently due to Carthusian editors, the other to ne Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. Father an Ginneken holds that the Carthusian text, with the inserted *'xercitatorium* of Heinrich Eger, is later than the text as evised by Zerbolt of Zutphen. Whatever the true relation f these two types, there is no doubt at all—as may be seen y comparing this printed edition of four parallel texts—that ne text as copied by Thomas a Kempis in 1441 is most losely connected with the text which he has classified as P. et it is not identical, for Thomas a Kempis was more than scribe. He was a very accomplished and sensitive literary ditor, with an unusually fine ear for the cadences of medieval atin prose-rhythms.

Father van Ginneken has added so much to our knowledge f these early stages of the world-famous text that it may eem ungracious to end on a note of disagreement. But it is ery difficult to accept that portion of his theory to which he plainly most personally attached, though he admits that he as failed to convince all his critics. He holds that the

primitive and short text of the *Cartusiensis in Rheno* is th spiritual diary of Gerard Groote; and he is prepared interpret all four books of the *Imitation of Christ* in the ligh of Gerard's known biography. The first eight chapters Book I represent the first weeks or months of his conversio when the brilliant young cleric is getting his first lessons i the vanity of this world from Heinrich Eger. Chapters 9-1 are the young novice's spiritual diary, illustrating the commo experiences of all those who enter the religious life and fin themselves in strange surroundings. The last eight chapters Book I are no longer a diary, but are (so it is suggested) forma instructions on monastic life which the young oblate delivere to his fellow-novices (if that be the correct term) at the prior request. And so on for the other three books. The calumnie to which frequent allusions are made in Book III are th contradictions and slanders of Gerard's enemies during hi last years as an apostolic preacher of reform. Book IV, wit its almost lyrical expression of spiritual joy, was written i the last twelve months of Gerard's life, when the blow ha fallen and he felt himself near death.

To many readers these theories will be most attractive They were first put forward by Father van Ginneken in 192 when he published an important study of the new evidenc in a paper read to the Royal Flemish Academy. Since the he has prepared an edition of the early Dutch version, whic he holds to be the original text of Gerard's diary; and Fathe Malaise has lost no time in giving an English translation o this Dutch text to an eager American public. But it i necessary to remind the reader that much remains to b proved.

The earliest manuscripts indicate a Carthusian monk a the unnamed author. It is true that Gerard Groote was fo three years an oblate in the Charterhouse of Monnikhusen But all the Dutch scholar's eloquence is needed to persuad us that an oblate could possibly be called a Carthusian monk And this new theory implies that no more than Book I wa written by the young Carthusian oblate. How could Gerard as an ardent reformer and preacher, the man whose activity i

vealed to us so vividly in more than seventy authentic
:ters, be described as a Carthusian monk? Indeed we are
ld by one early writer that Gerard used to advise his followers
)t to enter a Charterhouse, as the monks, though very
rtuous, were too completely cut off from the world.

Again, most readers of the *Imitation* will agree that the
ıthor, for all his astonishing insight into the heart of man,
essentially a monk in his outlook. Gerard's letters, though
ll of the piety and ardour which he had learned from the
intly prior of Monnikhusen, breathe (so it seems to me, at
ıst) a very different spirit. They are fighting letters, letters
at come straight from the heart of a man who is eager to
ve souls. But the reader must judge for himself, and we
n only refer him to the very scholarly edition which was
ıblished some six years ago by the late Father William
ulder, S.J.: *Gerardi Magni Epistolae* (Antwerp, 1933).

Finally, there is the problem arising from the absence of
ıy mention of Gerard as author of the *Imitation* in any
edieval manuscript. Father van Ginneken is at no loss for
ı explanation. Gerard Groote had died under a cloud in 1384.
is first disciples were eager to give the world some knowledge
his spiritual doctrine, but they were afraid to use his name
r fear of provoking more hostile attacks. This may perhaps
rve as some sort of explanation for the first early years.
ut our manuscripts are (with one possible exception) later
ıan 1425. How are we to explain so prolonged a conspiracy
silence, especially since many of the extant manuscripts
)me from those very houses where the memory of Gerard
roote was most revered? Thomas a Kempis is himself a
evout admirer of the man whom all the Canons of Windesheim
ıd Mount Saint-Agnes looked to as their founder, and he
rote his biography among other biographies of the founders
the New Devotion. Within the lifetime of Thomas, as we
ave seen, manuscripts were being freely circulated with his
vn name as author. How could he possibly have permitted
misleading a statement?

For these chief reasons, I must own that Father
ın Ginneken has failed to convince me on the point which

seems to lie nearest his heart. But what has been writt should suffice to show how much has been added to o knowledge of this fascinating text. One or two minor poir may be noted. The existence of an early, shorter text, whi may go back well into the fourteenth century, helps to expla a puzzle that Sir Francis Cruise and other early students l undecided. A letter from John van Schoonhoven, sub-pri of Groenendael, the famous Augustinian priory whi Ruysbroeck the Admirable had made a focus of mys fervour for almost half a century, is extant and can be dat to the year 1383. It is addressed to the prior of Eymstei another Augustinian priory where some of the founders Windesheim were later to get their first lessons in religious li Schoonhoven's letter either quotes freely from the *Imitati* or was used as a source by the author of the *Imitation.* critical comparison of the two texts suggests that Schoonhov must be quoting from a primitive text of the *Cartusiensis Rheno.* If this conclusion is correct, then we must date t primitive text to some year earlier than 1383, whatever may hold about the authorship of Gerard Groote.

And another long-standing puzzle can be cleared up last. Since there are so many indications that the *Imitati of Christ* belongs to the mystical group of the Netherland how came it that a considerable number of fifteenth-centu manuscripts named Gerson as its author? The puzzle w not easily solved, so long as the champions of Thomas a Kemp insisted that the book must have been produced in his matu years—roughly, from 1425 onwards. For Gerson died in 142 after a long and active life. If we accept the new evidenc then there is little difficulty. For we know that the secon prior of Windesheim, John Goswin, went as a delegate to t Council of Constance (1414–18), where he was treated wit much respect. It is more than likely that he brought wit him an early text of the *Imitation* in one or other of t primitive forms. Gerson was a great figure at the Counci and his name may have got attached to the book owing to h personal interest in it or perhaps owing to some confusio between a misspelt Goswin and his own name Gerson or Gerse

ere is no doubt at all that some such confusion in the spelling Gerson's name in an Italian manuscript lies at the root of the arguments adduced by various scholars of the seven-enth century to prove that an imaginary Abbot Gersen was e true author of a book that had meanwhile become tablished as the most popular spiritual guide in Western rope.

And what of Thomas a Kempis himself? His part is duced to the modest role of an editor who polishes a familiar d well-loved text, compares one version with another, and ooses with incomparable skill the most telling phrase, metimes combining two of the earlier texts, sometimes itting a phrase from one or the other; and fusing them in a text which he made more attractive by his own sweet ft of cadenced Latin prose. The spiritual force of the book not his. That is why his own admittedly authentic works, ough attractive in themselves and deeply pious, have never on a popularity that can be compared with the *Imitation of rist.* But the true author's name was unknown in the days Thomas a Kempis and is unknown to-day. Failing the me of the great unknown, no other man has a juster claim an Thomas, Canon Regular of Mount Saint-Agnes, to the ok which he refashioned, and which has won its immense d lasting popularity in the form which he gave it five nturies ago.

Some readers may think this conclusion tame and dis-pointing, as compared with the more dramatic interpretation fered by Father van Ginneken. But, to my mind at least, ere is a greater dramatic truth in the thought that the *nitation of Christ*, which has been the daily food of so many rnest souls, in religion and in the world, for so many nerations, comes to us from the silence of an unknown harterhouse—somewhere in the heart of that home of mystic ety, the medieval Netherlands. And there is much in the story of the later Middle Ages to confirm the witness of the anuscripts we have quoted. You will find Carthusian fluence at Strassburg in the middle of the fourteenth century, hen Lewis the Carthusian and the Dominican mystic Tauler

were making that city a centre of Christian piety. You w find the same Carthusian influence in Northern Italy generation later, with Carthusian monks active in their suppo of Saint Catherine of Siena. We have seen that the Germ Carthusian monasteries were actively propagating the *Imitati of Christ* during the fifteenth century. The same tradition still strong in the early sixteenth century, when two Jesu pioneers of the coming Catholic revival, Peter Faber a Peter Canisius, find the Charterhouse of Cologne a centre whatever faith and piety was still active in the Rhinelan And, just across the narrow seas, the Charterhouse of Lond was then a centre of courageous resistance to the despotis of Henry VIII. Thomas More felt the attraction of the austere monks, as Gerard Groote had felt it more than century before his time.

The Carthusian order has done little to bring its achieveme before the eyes of the public, and the anonymity of th primitive text of the *Imitation of Christ* is in keeping with noblest traditions. The Carthusians claim, with justice, th their order has never stood in need of reform. It was found by a German saint eight centuries ago. Has any order do more for that inner life which is the heart and soul Christianity ?

AUBREY GWYNN

ISH CATHOLIC COLONIES AND COLONIZATION PROJECTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1795–1860

BY SISTER MARY GILBERT KELLY, O.P.

AN account of Irish Catholic colonization in the United States prior to the Civil War is really concerned as ıch with plans for colonies which did not reach fruition as :h successful endeavours in the establishment of direct tlements for people of this nationality. The truth of this t is especially evident during the first thirty years of vernment in this country under the Constitution. Of the sh settlements established in the United States prior to)0 that at Damariscotta, Maine, although referred to in *Catholic Encyclopedia* as a colony in existence prior to)8, seems from the manuscript history of the parish as :hered quite recently to have been only a prosperous Irish mmunity, owing its prestige mainly to Matthew Cottrill d James Kavanagh, natives of Kilkenny, who drew others their race around them through their successful prosecution the lumber business in that district. The influence on the mmunity of such gifted and highly educated men as Father ıtignon and Father Cheverus, later Bishop of Boston, made Catholics of that centre stand out in education, power, and luence as compared with other citizens of the territory.[1] ork in the formation of Catholic colonies was done by minic Lynch along the Mohawk River around the town st called Lynchville but whose name was changed to Rome ior to 1800.[2] On the other hand the colonizing endeavour ry early in the nineteenth century of Thomas O'Connor, a tive of Dublin, in the establishment of a settlement on a ıct of forty thousand acres in Steuben County, New York, s unsuccessful. As the enterprise did not meet his expec- ıions, O'Connor returned to New York City and devoted nself to literary pursuits.[3]

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

A rather elaborate plan for a colony along the Susquehan River was proposed in November 1796 by Father Patri Lonergan to Bishop John Carroll. Father Lonergan report that he had made an agreement with an English compa which ten years earlier had purchased thirty thousand ac of land twenty miles higher up the river than the pries residence near Milltown, Pennsylvania, for a grant of t thousand acres to belong to Father Lonergan and his success forever, provided he would have sixty families on the land t following spring or summer. The agent of the company h agreed to furnish grain to the prospective colonists at t price for which it was sold at the nearest large city and grant eighteen months credit if required. In this letter Fath Lonergan stated that, previous to entering upon the agreeme he had engaged sixty families and since then had written or visited several Catholic families scattered and distant fr a priest, and as a result of his labours he expected one hundr families to settle on the land in spring. In fact, the prospe for a complete Catholic settlement seemed so promising th he planned to purchase a further two thousand acres on ea terms from the company.[4] The only other information ava able regarding this project comes from another letter of t priest to Bishop Carroll during the following January. this letter, written after a period of difficulties with the Scot Irish who, in "name only Catholicks," formed the bulk of h parishioners, he besought the Bishop to send him Munster Connacht men by Easter since he intended to settle on his la at that time. If they were poor, he would pay them "" much a Year or a Day as any other Gentleman in the Count will, provided they are Catholicks—because there are plen of other descriptions here already, should I like to take them. Despite his high hopes for an Irish and thoroughly Catho settlement, Father Lonergan was apparently unable to car out his project, which had also embraced a plan of maki the colony a nucleus for Franciscan missionary candidat

On the other hand the Irish colonies of Buffalo Creek a Slippery Rock in Butler County, Pennsylvania, settled in 17 by parishioners of Father Henry Bolton of Raphoe in Donega

ved successful. When the care of an aged mother prevented ir pastor from accompanying them, the group of fifty nilies went without their sponsor into western Pennsylvania. e of our earliest records of these colonists is contained in letter written on May 24, 1803, by Connell Rogers, one their number, in behalf of ninety-four petitioners from the o settlements to Bishop Carroll for the services of a priest o would reside with them permanently and preach in glish. He mentioned the names of Father Lonergan and ther Phelan as priests who would be especially desired and ered to provide the salary of a priest in grain.[6] Later ntion of these colonies is found several times in the *Diary d Visitation Record* of Bishop Francis P. Kenrick, where he ls of administering Confirmation there in 1831, 1834, and 39.[7] The settlement of Buffalo Creek, which by 1839 had me to be known as Sugarcreek, in time became the centre a group of Catholic settlements, being considered the parent all congregations west of the Allegheny River. The permanence of its influence was due in great measure to the early idance of Father Laurence S. Phelan (also called Whelan or helen) who, in or about 1805, came to the " Buffalo Mission " be its first resident pastor. He brought with him a number Catholics from Sportsman's Hall (now St. Vincent's Archbey) where a misguided priest was causing trouble. The lonists, overjoyed with the thought of a priest in their midst, termined to buy a two hundred acre farm and erect a house r divine worship. To solicit donations four collectors—sper Easly, James Sheridan, Neil Sweeny, and Connell gers—were appointed, each of whom took one-fourth of the strict fifteen miles square which was included within the rish limits. The largest individual subscription did not ceed two dollars. The preparation of logs and the actual nstruction of one side of the church were also cared for by e men from each of the four districts. The building was ady for roofing by the end of the first day, but owing to the arcity of nails the roof was not completed until the spring 1806. With the completion of the church, people came m distances of ten miles or more ; but during the ensuing

years, so numerous were the places which the priests had
attend, Mass could be offered in the parent church only o
a month. Father Phelan remained until about 1811. Fr
that date until 1837 the congregation and the surround
country were at times attended from Pittsburg or St. Vince
Abbey or had a series of resident pastors each staying a f
years at most. With the coming of Father Joseph Cody fr
Kilkenny, Ireland, in 1837 and the gradual narrowing of t
wide mission field through the organization of new parish
the life of the Sugarcreek congregation became more sett
and flourished to such an extent that a new church w
dedicated in July 1842. By 1861 Father Cody's labours w
confined solely to St. Patrick's Church in Sugarcreek, a par
that has continued to prosper even to the present.[8]

Irish colonization received its next impetus through t
Emmet-MacNeven project, which was initiated in 1817
promote settlements in what was then considered a weste
region of the United States.[9] As a result of European co
ditions and the opportunities held out by the new transatlan
nation, the influx of population during the early years of t
post-Napoleonic era was greater than at any previous perio
and many citizens of the country looked with no favour on t
hordes of newcomers, whom they declared to be actuat
solely by a desire for cheap lands, high wages, plenty of foo
and freedom from military service—and not by a love of o
institutions or an appreciation of our democratic form
government. More than half of the fifteen thousand foreigne
known to have landed at New York and Philadelphia in 18
and an almost equal number during the following year we
Irishmen with little means. Lacking a knowledge of how
make a livelihood in America, they were quickly stranded
the seaboard and threatened to become a charge to the
communities. Citizens of Irish descent formed immigrant a
societies in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimo
and Savannah to help their distressed countrymen; but
the middle of 1817 it was decided that a more permane
remedy must be sought. The result of an interchange
letters between the organizations was the decision to put t

atter before Congress. Perhaps foremost among the many ted leaders of these societies were Thomas Addis Emmet d William J. MacNeven, the first of whom had been the lest leader of the United Irishmen during the rising of 1798 Ireland, in which Dr. MacNeven also participated. They me to America after their release from Fort George and ttled in New York City, where both won recognition by their actical work for the betterment of the city and country.[10]

Emmet and MacNeven, with others influential in the uncils of the New York association, in December 1817 drew a memorial which, in behalf of the New York Emigrant ssociation, was presented to Congress on February 16, 1818, Senator Nathan Sanford of New York. Among other ings the petition asked for a portion of the unsold lands in inois Territory to be granted on extended terms of credit r the purpose of being settled by immigrants from Ireland. ne memorialists had selected Illinois since they believed that the lands to which they have alluded, being frontier and mote, are neither likely to be speedily exposed to sale . . . r by settlement conducive to the general strength."[11] They ld that the climate was not very different from that of eland; the great stretches of prairie, with their occasional tches of woodland, closely resembled their own cleared untry and could easily be worked by agricultural implements which they were accustomed; it was accessible by means river navigation to the markets of New Orleans. Moreover, e Irish did not wish to settle among slaves. The signers eclared that they were emboldened by the recollection of the neral encouragement to settlement which had always aracterized the constituted authorities of the Union :—

> The wise and brave founders of its independence held out to the pressed and suffering of every nation the consoling assurance that this country, at least, they should find a refuge and a home . . . In e extended territory and scattered population of the United States . . . d under their free and blessed institutions, it is an unquestionable d important truth that every increase of inhabitants, when wisely d judiciously distributed and settled, adds to the social comforts and oductive industry of the whole, and that the excess of population, hich cannot be considered as giving stability to the various

Governments of Europe, if suffered or encouraged to settle here, wou incalculably increase our wealth and strength. But that accession doubly valuable which also brings to the common fund, with a ma of laborious industry, unalterable attachment to the laws and co stitution of the country . . . The people of Ireland, from the pecul pressures under which that country has so long been placed, ha flocked hither in the greatest number and perhaps under the mo trying and necessitous circumstances. They come, indeed, not return and carry back the profits of casual speculations, but to dedica to the land of their hopes their persons, their families, their posteri their affections, their all[12] . . . The Irish emigrant, cherished a protected by the Government of the United States, will find attachment to their interests increase in proportion to the benefits has received. He will love with enthusiasm the country that affor him the means of honorable and successful enterprise and permits hi to enjoy unmolested and undiminished the fruits of his hone industry . . .[13]

On behalf of the New York Irish Emigrant Association th signatures of the following were attached: Thomas Add Emmet, President; Daniel McCormick, Vice-President; Jam McBride, Vice-President; Andrew Harris, Treasurer; John W Mulligan, Secretary; William Sampson, Wm. J. MacNeve James Sterling, William Edgar, Jr., Matthew Carroll, Jol Mayhue, John Heffernan, Dennis McCarthy, Mat L. Dav J. Chambers, Thomas Kirk, D. H. Doyle, John R. Skidd Robert Fox, Joseph R. Mullany, and R. Swanton. Th memorial was referred in the Senate to the Committee o Public Lands. But no further action on this proposition w taken by Congress until, in response to petitions from th immigrant associations in Baltimore and Philadelphia, the appeared in the *Annals of Congress* for December 16 of th same year the following resolution submitted by Representati Clifton Clagett of New Hampshire:—

That it is expedient to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury designate and set apart . . . townships, each of six miles square, the State of Illinois, east of the military bounty lands, each alterna section thereof to be settled by emigrants from Ireland and sold them at two dollars per acre to be paid in three installments, as follow to wit:—one-third part thereof at the end of four years; one-third pa thereof at the end of eight years; and the residue at the end of twel years from the day of sale, with interest on the said several sums.[14]

The provisions under which the grant might be acceded were that applicants for lands must be men of moral and industrious character, and must engage to improve at least twenty acres of each hundred acres thus transferred and erect a suitable dwelling house and barn thereon, and that at the expiration of twelve years such lands should revert to the United States on non-compliance with the provisions or payment or improvement, consideration being given for amounts paid in. For the first five years the lands were to be exempt from taxation. On a resolution that a committee be appointed and instructed to prepare a bill embracing the foregoing provisions, the House voted in the negative by a large majority.[15] Apparently the Representatives could see no reason why a man from Ireland should be permitted to buy land on easier terms than a citizen from any of the States of the Union. Moreover, the House was not inclined to consider Illinois so frontier and remote a region as the memorialists suggested it to be, for thirteen days after the presentation and defeat of the above resolution Illinois was admitted by vote of Congress as one of the United States.

Another project, which for a short time offered a hopeful solution to the trials of his fellow-countrymen when famine and fever raged in Ireland in 1822, was that of Bishop John England. In one of the early issues of his *United States Catholic Miscellany*, the Bishop proposed to create agricultural "colonies of a people whose feelings are prepared to assimilate with the institutions of the country," using for this purpose funds raised in a manner guaranteed not to add "a tax in America nor infringe upon any comfort possessed by Americans."[16] The basis of financial support of the proposed colonies was never made known. Although there is a surmise that the plan failed because of Bishop England's inability to secure priests to minister to the contemplated colonies, it is apparent that the subject was dropped from want of encouragement.

The colony of Loretto, Pennsylvania, while only partially Irish, was begun by Father Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin in August 1799 on the site of the settlement made by Captain Michael McGuire on the summit of the Alleghenies in present

Cambria County. Three years earlier, on his initial trip
the settlement—a sick call—Father Gallitzin had found a fe
Irish Catholic immigrant families; and these, with the oth
Catholics there, had shortly afterwards presented a petitio
to Bishop John Carroll asking him to send a priest who wou
be stationed among them permanently. They gave as a
inducement that land donated by Captain McGuire woul
when cultivated, serve for the priest's subsistence. As
matter of fact, before his death in 1840 Father Gallitzin ha
expended nearly $150,000 (much of it received from h
family) in his enterprise of forming a thoroughly Catholi
colony at Loretto. The early erection of a church, a gri
mill, and a tannery, as well as the founder's constant care
his parishioners drew many people to the colony. A grea
many Irish people came, and soon this nationality pr
dominated. An analysis of the baptismal records of 180
reveals that, of the fifty-nine new families who moved to th
region of Loretto between 1804 and 1807, twenty-six wer
Irish. This sudden influx of Erin's sons, who looked upo
Gallitzin as a German and who desired an Irish priest, brough
problems and troubles to the colony. It was unfortunate tha
occasionally an Irish priest, now and then without facultie
drifted into the settlement and ingratiated himself with th
Irish colonists. Father Gallitzin was a strict disciplinaria
towards his flock and consequently gave a cold reception t
priests who came to Loretto without having been sent by th
Bishop. Discord sprang up and the parish became divide
into factions. Some of the Irish settlers joined an ambitiou
Irishman in locating a town alongside the new highway thre
miles distant. Against the foundation of this place, calle
Munster, Father Gallitzin used all the moral influence he coul
command, since he was alarmed at having a town near Loretto
made up of people who chafed under his guidance and who a
least partially fostered an opposition to the principles whic
he felt necessary for the maintenance of a truly Catholi
colony. He was unable to prevent the foundation of this new
town, but did succeed in keeping out of office some of those wh
aspired to political prominence in the county. The dominanc

:he Irish element seems to have passed prior to 1823 ; for in tober of that year, in a letter to Archbishop Marechal, Father llitzin stated that the colonists around Loretto were not all one race and that they were being " rapidly augmented by nual accessions of families from Germany, Switzerland, :land, and different parts of America."[17]

Under James Le Ray de Chaumont and his son Vincent, e founders of the Black River Settlements in northwestern w York, not only French and German colonists but also a odly number of Irish took advantage of the liberal terms ered by these Catholic landlords to prospective buyers of nd. By 1818 some Irish from County Meath, who had come America by way of Canada where they received a cold lcome, had settled at Carthage. There in 1820, under the le of St. James, Bishop Connolly dedicated a frame church. fore the middle of the century the parish of Carthage was, th the exception of Ogdensburg, considered the most portant Catholic community in northern New York. The rly inhabitants of two others among the Le Ray colonies, lfort and Clayton, were predominantly Irish. The first habitants of these places arrived around 1830. The latter wn became a tourist and fishing resort, but the early Irish habitants formed a wealthy farming community.[18]

The Irish colony around Pompey, New York, had a rather usual origin.[19] In March 1835 an Irish Catholic peddler, rancis Murphy, lost his way while journeying through a vere snow storm and found shelter for the night at the me of Colonel David L. Dodge. In the morning the Colonel fused to take money in payment for the night's hospitality, nd so Murphy, who had been questioned on points of his lief the previous evening, asked if he might make a present some books on Catholic teachings to his host who had own an interest in the subject. Colonel Dodge and his wife ad the books, ordered others of the same type from Baltimore nd New York, and somewhat over a year later Mrs. Dodge as received into the Catholic Church by the priest in Utica. he Congregational Church in Pompey charged the Dodges ith heresy, tried them before their church court, and expelled

both. Colonel Dodge entered the Church on Christmas Da 1837. Accounts of these conversions received considerab publicity in the United States—also in Ireland, England, an France; they included an address on this subject to th Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith b Bishop John Hughes of New York in 1840. Many Irishme contemplating departure to America decided to go to Pompe There they received a welcome from Colonel Dodge, wh encouraged and assisted them in the planting and upbuildin of an Irish colony. Within a few years they had saved enoug to purchase farms and to co-operate in the erection of church. On the list of pioneer Catholics all the names ar Irish.

An Irish colony in eastern United States which bega shortly before the Le Ray colonies of Belfort and Clayton wa that at Silver Lake in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania Its founder, Father Jeremiah F. O'Flynn, had been educate in Ireland, had joined the Trappists in England in 1810, an had worked for some years as a missionary in the West Indie Returning to Rome in 1816 for the settlement of som ecclesiastical difficulties, he had been released from his Orde by the Pope and appointed Prefect-Apostolic of New Hollan (Australia). His successful ministrations among the convict in Australia won for him the enmity of the Governor and term in prison. After his return to England he went to th West Indies and in 1823 to the United States for the betterme of his health. Some funds which he had brought for investmen he entrusted two years later with Thomas M. Morris o Philadelphia and then accompanied that gentleman on a visi to Silver Lake, where they were the guests of Robert Rose agent for a large tract of land in the northeastern part of th state. The five Catholic families living in the wild country among the scattered English, Scotch, and Americans begge him to stay. Against the advice of Mr. Morris, he purchase a partially cleared farm two miles from the lake, declaring h would remain only until his health improved. However, h at once set about having a good house built and began t plan for the erection of a church on his land; he also had

rn and other buildings put up and an orchard planted. vo years later he induced his brother-in-law, Thomas tzgerald, to bring his family and settle at Silver Lake. out this time the Vicar General of Philadelphia asked ther O'Flynn to accept the spiritual guidance of those tholics settled around him and to attend to his co-religionists the public works in northeastern Pennsylvania. This he ntinued to do until his death in 1830. During those three ars a great number of families, on learning of the cheap ıds around Silver Lake and attracted by the news that ther O'Flynn was erecting a church, flocked in from the nals where they had made money. This colony was an ample of a priest setting up the standard of religion in an tpost of civilization and drawing a congregation about him. ther O'Flynn's successor, Father William J. Clancy, finished e building of the church and drew many more Catholics to e congregation.[20]

The most noted of the Catholic immigrant colonies in stern United States during the fourth decade of the nine- nth century was that at Benedicta, Maine, established as a ıce of refuge for poor Irish Catholics, especially those around e New England metropolis who were suffering from the stility manifested toward them by the Yankee population. e streets of many large New England towns were crowded the 1820's and 1830's with ill-clad and poorly nourished sh labourers, more or less dependent on charitable societies benevolent citizens. The poverty of the Irish was traceable t only to the overcrowding of industries but to the conditions the Irish themselves upon arrival. They had spent most all their money to pay their passage to America ; the mills d public works could not supply all with jobs ; hence many d to seek relief in almshouses. In the opening years of the 30's there was a profound Protestant American distrust of tholicism, a gathering of anti-Catholic forces which never inquished their belief in the danger to American institutions king in the spread of " Popery " ; these were able by thods—whether religious, industrial, political, or social—to ınifest this distrust along lines detrimental to the welfare

of the Catholics. The burning of the Boston Ursuline Conve on the night of August 11, 1834, and three years later t Broad Street and Fort Hill riots, were only the more spectacu of the outward demonstrations resulting from ill feeling towa the Catholic religion and the steadily increasing newcom who professed that faith. This marked increase of Cathol in the Boston Diocese and the growing antagonism towa them occurred during the episcopate of Benedict J. Fenwi a descendant of one of the proprietors who originally ca over under the charter of Lord Baltimore. In November 18 he took up his episcopate courageously and energetical thoroughly convinced of his difficult responsibility for t handful of Catholics—lost, so to say, amid the most thorough English and anti-Catholic portion of the population of t United States. Reared in the tradition of Catholic Maryla during his youth an agricultural community, he wished provide, for those members of his flock who would av themselves of the opportunity, a chance to establish themsel on farms in a district free from the influence of intolera and Nativism.

A visit of the Bishop in July 1832 to Whitefield, Mai where he found a congregation which had started twe years previous with a mere handful of Catholics now gro to more than 1,200 souls, confirmed in his mind the glori possibility of a Catholic colony on the soil of Maine. inspection of a tract one hundred and fifty miles inland fr Whitefield had been made with the view of deciding on suitability as the site of his projected college and seminar but the increased difficulties around Boston upon his retu caused him to give precedence to the transplanting of so of his Irish parishioners to this woodland retreat in Mai Nine months later the first public notice of the prospect colony appeared in *The Jesuit* in the form of an editor announcing that Bishop Fenwick was about to purchase tract of two thousand acres or more in Maine for a Catho settlement. Lest some who would gladly settle upon far with their families should be deterred from planning to do through fear of isolation from religion and friends, the editor

de it clear that, as soon as land was purchased, the Bishop ended to erect a Catholic church in a central place in the ion selected and to station a priest there. Further progress he project was reported in July and again in September 1833 l an advertisement ran for a period of seven weeks in umn of the same year.[21] However, no definite action was icated until on a Sunday in mid-July 1834 the colonization n was outlined at all the Masses to the parishioners in and und Boston. The actual purchase of a large tract of land one of the most fertile regions of Maine, about seventy es from Bangor, was announced simultaneously.[22]

The account gave a glowing description of the fine timber, d fishing, healthful climate, and the adaptability of the for all kinds of grains, Indian corn, and especially potatoes, ich were claimed to be as good as any ever grown in Ireland. e price of land had advanced from the previously announced ximum of $1·25 per acre: for land along the road two lars was being asked, while for farms further back $1·50 ; set as the price; in all cases the cost of survey was litional. Provision was also made for the sale of fifty or nty acre portions to be sold to the poorer colonists instead the customary allotment of one hundred acres.

A well-defined tradition indicated that the first families reach Benedicta came in the summer of 1834 in a vessel n Boston to Bangor, where they hired teams to take them their destination; but when they reached the Molunkus er, the roads were so poor that the teams were dismissed l the settlers made their way as best they could through wilderness. It is also said that many a poor settler, who ner lacked the money to pay his boat or stage fare and s unable to hire a team, or who wished to save all his ney to get started on his new farm, walked all the way m Boston to Benedicta. The first group of families was ompanied by Father James Conway as representative of Bishop. This priest also supervised the surveying of the ms and lots which was already under way when the public nouncements concerning the colony were being made. e founder sought to bring in tradesmen and labourers to

get the colony started, but most of the former soon retur to Boston. The colony was planned with agriculture a basic enterprise, with insistence that only those bred farmers should go there, but secondarily with a view to stea occupation for labourers in the neighbouring forests, where extensive lumbering industry could be developed.

The belief, voiced early in August 1834, that all the la at Benedicta had been taken by settlers, and that one hundr and thirty-four families had already moved there or propos to, proved to be illusory.[23] Apparently many who bargain for lots in the new colony never went there. Moreover, severity of the first winters caused some to abandon settlement, but their loss was balanced by the other famil from Boston, from other regions of Maine, and from N Brunswick. The high hopes of its founder for his rural Uto and his satisfaction with the progress made during its open years are evidenced by the following extract from a report the Society for the Propagation of the Faith :—

> Almost two and a half years ago I bought from the governm 14,000 acres of virgin land in the interior of the State of Maine. purpose of this purchase was to establish there, in more favor conditions, a colony of Catholics chosen from the poor but industri classes, who, with time, would extend the Faith in the surround country. So far the project has succeeded admirably. More th thirty families are established on this rich soil ; they will be joi next year by an equal number. Already a priest resides there an pretty little church has been built.[24]

In 1837 Bishop Fenwick, writing to Bishop Rosati St. Louis, mentioned the westward trend of New Engla population and stated, as one cause of the departure fr Boston and its environs of many Catholics, " the persecuti spirit that prevails here " which was " driving all our b Catholics to your Missouri."[25] Despite this situation number of families in the Benedicta colony continued increase gradually, there being reported as actually pres forty families in 1838, between fifty and sixty in 1840, a between seventy and eighty in 1842.[26] The founder's m

guine hopes seem to have been reached by the summer of 9 when he again wrote to Bishop Rosati :—

But my Catholic settlement succeeds beyond my expectation. Not have Catholics settled on my own land, but they have already un to extend themselves on the state's land adjacent. It is just wished and as I anticipated. We shall soon have a thriving colony several thousand without any mixture of Protestants. I am now ting a seminary and college, which I hope will one day afford an ple supply of native clergymen for the wants of the diocese, in the ter of the township. I have alloted for its support 500 acres of first-rate land, together with the proceeds of a sawmill and grist [27]

e project for the seminary, however, never advanced beyond building. It was too hard to get priests to teach in an titution still (in 1841) three or four days' journey by boat l stage from Boston ; so for want of priests and lack of ds that project was abandoned. An arrangement made 1843 provided that the recently established academy of ther James Fitton near Worcester, Massachusetts, should come the nucleus of the future diocesan seminary and lege, known as the College of Holy Cross and placed under direction of the Jesuit Fathers from Maryland.

The Bishop kept up an active interest in his colony, iting it from time to time until his death in August 1846. e raising of potatoes long continued the chief source of ome, sometimes to the misfortune of the inhabitants who, their ancestors in Ireland, placed too much reliance on a gle crop. Following the abandonment of the lumbering lustry, dairying was taken up. An Aroostook settler, in a ter written at the end of our period, depicting the advantages that region which was being opened to the markets of ston, New York, and St. John's through the newly built d, gave a favourable picture of Benedicta at that date : The Benedicta settlement, founded by the ever-to-be-nembered Bishop Fenwick, is in a most flourishing and ppy condition. No class of people bear a more worthy putation among all classes, and none better deserve it. r general intelligence, industry, and morality, no community passes them. Would we had several such settlements."[28]

While several bishops in the United States, other than
Right Reverend Benedict J. Fenwick, showed interest
Catholic immigrant colonization projects in this country pr
to the Civil War, a more comprehensive plan of action ald
this line was fostered and carried through by Right Revere
Matthias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque, than by any of the othe
But this and other projects must await a further article.

River Forest
Illinois

Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O

NOTES

[1] Edmund Madigan, Ms. account, An Early History of the Catholic Faith
Damariscotta Mills, Maine (c. 1930), 1, 2, 6.
[2] William H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York* (New York, 1909),
[3] *Ibid.*, 434.
[4] Archdiocesan Archives of Baltimore, 5 A8, Lonergan to Carroll, Nov. 22, 179
[5] Archdiocesan Archives of Baltimore, 5 A9, Lonergan to Carroll, Jan. 24, 179
[6] "Connell Rogers' Letters—Trials and Triumphs of Catholic Pioneers in West
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SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LIII

TO MAG SHAMHRADHAIN, i. Maghnus † 1303

RAGHNALL Ó hUIGINN, .cc.

1. Brian a-noir do-nim do Maghnus
mait gach ni do-ni go ré
leagadh gach gliadh [aile] a éachta
Brian ir [aire] ar déanta de.

2. Brian ar eangnamh ir ar eineach
oncú Bréifne an bruinne feing
ni cabair ól car dá gcanann
ni can glór nach gabann greim.

3. Móide ar Brian é a feadar coirrgear
Teallach neachach na n-arm ndear
ni noctann ré arm gan falaid
ni garb é go dtabair trear.

4. A-tá ag Maghnus Muige fabair
foghluim eile fuair ó Brian
nir rmuain 'r an gábadh n-a goire
álad dá bruair roime riam.

5. Sleagh ar gcamadh cloideamh ainmneach
aige ón tachar tug go garb
do fiarfaigh flait Gréag do gaibnib
chéad bad mait d'ainmib a arm.

6. Téid an tann ar threire a biodba
do buain cheach de dál ar leit
ó 'd-cluin ar n-éag a fear gcagaid
géag Breag ni cagair a gcreic

7. Feoil infuinte uirge a brógaib
bior ga muinntir mait an cuid
cadlaid Maghnus ar cúl creice
ar barrdor úr beithe buig.

8. Teaċ coille aʒ Maʒnuṡ ṁac Donnċaiḋ
Duille buiḋe bíoṡ n-a ṡuil
Leaʒaṡ aṡ bṡat ʒcoṡcṡa ʒclúṁċṡuinn
boʒcna ṡlat n-úṡċuill n-a uċt.

9. Máʒ Saṁṡaḋán do ṡín maṡcṡluaʒ
iṡ maiḋm leiṁe n-a ṡuaiʒ teinn
ṡaiṫċe aʒ ṡóṁaiḋm ḃa ċleiṫ Coḋail
aṡ óʒḃaiḋḃ eiṫ ṡolaiṁ ṡeinʒ.

10. Ó oiṡeaċt aṡ éiṡ an taċaiṡ
iṡ teiṡḋ ṡíṡe ṡuaiṡ an ṡeaṡ
Laṡaiṡ ḋeaṡʒ i néalliaiḃ niṁe
béaṡaiḋ t'ṡeaṡʒ a ḃile ḃṡeaʒ.

11. ʒlóṡ cáiṫ aḋ-ċuala n-a éaʒṁaiṡ
aʒ iomṡáṫ ṡiṡ na n-aṡm nḋeaṡʒ
do ṡáiṡʒ tú ṡan nʒṡuaiḋ nʒléiʒil
an cṡú an uaiṡ do éiṡiʒ t'ṡeaṡʒ.

12. Do-ċualaiḋ miṡe 'ṡ mé aʒ coṁṡáṫ
le ceaṡḋ maiṫ a ṁolaḋ cóiṡ
ʒen ʒo ʒcoiṡʒ t'ṡola a ʒéaʒ ʒáille
ṡoʒa na ṡéaḋ t'ṡáinne óiṡ.

13. n-a ṡaṡṡuḋ aṡ ṡuḋ na sliʒeaḋ
aʒ seanmóiṡ ḋó a-ḋuḃaiṡt mé
tuʒaiṡ a ṡlat Maċa aʒ macṡa
mac ṡlaṫa n-a ḋalta Dé.

14. Aiṫniḋ ḋaoiḃṡe ḋála Maʒnaiṡ
meiṡḋe ʒo móṡ míne a ʒlóiṡ
ṡoḃaḋ é ṡin am na heaʒla
an ḋann do-ḃiṡ ṡseaʒṡa ṡóill.

15. A ḃuṡḃa ní ḃí aṡ a ṫeanʒaiḋ
ṡiṡ an ṫé ḋá ḋtaḃaiṡ ṡuaṫ
ʒaoiḋealʒ móṡ ʒan ḃṡíʒ do-ḃéaṡa
i nʒlóṡ míṅ a-ḃéaṡa ó Ḋuaṫ.

16. Ní ḋeaṡnaḋ ṡiaṁ ó ṡé loʒa
lúḋ ṡoḋa naċ ṡuil n-a uṡḋ
ní coṡṡaċ ṡʒoṫ ėanaiʒ uiṡṡe
cloċ ṡleaṁain i mḃuinne ḃuṡḃ.

17. Do ṙnáṁ leaḃaṙ i lό anṙaiḋ
ṗe huċt ċuain do-ċáiḋ do luing
do ċomaiṙ ṙionnṁuiṙ gcaiṙ gcorṫa
do ḃaiṙ ṙioḋṙaiḋ ċoṙcṙa ċruinn.

18. Maġnuṙ noċo ṁeinic [aḋmaṙ]
aiṙm bioḋḃaḋ do ḃéin ṗe uċt
ní ṗeaṙ go huaiṙ ṙguiṙ na ṙgainnṗe
a ḃṗuaiṙ tuiṙ Aiḋne dá hulc.

19. Do Ġallaiḃ a ġnúiṙ i eaċaċ
ṗe huċt tuinne tuġaiṙ ṗuaiġ
do ling ṙa ṙál ngeal don Ġallċaṫ
ṗeaṙ gan ṙnáṁ gan aṙċṙaċ uaiḋ.

20. Comṙáḋ ċanaiḋ i ngaċ longṗoṙt
a luċt ṙḃaiṙne ní ṙṙleaḋ ḋáiḃ
dá mbeaṫ méaḋ an Daġda i nduine
ní taṙḃa a ġéaġ Duiḃe a ḋáil.

21. Rinn áiġ aġ a ṙáḋ go meinic
ṗe mac nDonnċaiḋ ḋeaṙġaṙ ġó
do ċuṙa deaṙġ a ċuiṙ Cliaṫa
ní ṗuil ceaṙḋ naċ ḋalta ḋó.

22. Iṙ ḋeoṙaiḋ uaṙal t'ṗeaṙ caomṫaiġ
a ċneaṙ Maġnuṙa aṙ ṁín ṙoiṫ
comṗaḋ do ṫaoiḃ d'altain iaṙuinn
i gcaṙcaiṙ ċaoil iallḋuinn oṙṫ.

23. Cá ṙáiṙċeall naċ ṙaġaiḃ teaṙmunn
ón ṫaoiṙiuċ naċ tuġ a ṙeiṙġ
ṙeaṙġ naoiṁ go tṙéan noċaṙ ḃoġaiḃ
éan aṙ cṙaoiḃ toḃaiṙ níṙ ṫeilġ.

24. I gcoinne ċeannaiġe an ṙíona
anḃa an tionóil téiḋ ó Ruaiṙc
iṙ móṙ táinig aṙ an tunna
ṙáinig aṙ ṙlóġ Cunga an ċuaiṙt.

25. Loċt oiṙċeaṙ ṙuaṙaṙ don ḃṙeaġoiḋ
ḃánaiḋ n-a ḋún ḋaṫ an tṙṙóill
ṙoíom do ċuiṙm ḋuḃḋuinn an ḋṙeaġain
ṗe huṙlainn gcṙuinn eaġaiṙ óiṙ.

26. Súil nać déaćaḋ an ḋán ċeannȝar
ó ua Ċormaic ċorcrar bṗaić
cuirió tuir Ḋuiḃe n-ar nḋeaȝaiḋ
ḋuine ȝa ȝcluin meaḃair ṁaiṫ.

27. A ṗáiṫ ḋána ir ḋocair ḋ'ṗaȝáil
ḋ'ṗior Ṫeaṁṗa ȝur tiȝ ȝać baṫ
ar ḋuain nȝirr ḋo ċeir ó Cṗéiḋe
ṗoḃaḋ binn leir Éire aṫ.

28. Ȝan ċruit nó ȝan tiompán téiḋḃinn
ní ṫéiḋ n-a coilluḋ craoḃ Liaȝ
[a] ḋá ȝormṗúil mar ḃláṫ mḃuȝa
ḋo ṁonȝḋúin ṗnáṫ uṁa iaḋ.

29. Ḋo ṫuaiȝ ar ḋtoċt tṗerin ȝcloȝar
ȝo crior ṗȝeine ḋo ṗȝailt ṗear
at iarainn ḋá nar ṫéiȝ tairnȝe
ḋo ṗiarṗoinn béim baiḋḃe Ḃreaȝ.

30. A ṁuintear ní maiṫ ḋo leiȝear
ar n-a lot aȝ lúḃaḋ cṗann
a luiṫ cneaḋ aȝ toċt i ḋtaċṗoiḃ
ṗear ȝonta ȝa aṫȝuin ann.

31. A aiȝeaḋ i ḃaċaċ ṗeiḋliȝ
ȝur nać paȝar ṗear a ċoirȝ
an tann ar ȝáḃaḋ ḋoḋ ȝṗuaiḋiḃ
ráḋal barr ruainniȝ ḋo roirȝ.

32. Ir ṗior ḋaṁ a nḋuḃairt mire
ṗe mac Móire ar ṁaiṫ im ḃuaiḃ
méaṗaiḋ ḋo ṁaiṫ ṗe méaḋ ċaiṫe
a ṗlaiṫ Ȝréaȝ ȝo laiṫe an luain.

33. A-ḋeir cáċ ó 'ḋ-ċiaḋ ḋo [ḋíoȝḃair]
aȝ ḋṁuḋ i n-aiȝiḋ arm noċt
beiṫ aȝuḋ ṫuḃa a ṗir Aḃaiȝ
ḋo-ḃir ḋula ar t-aȝaiḋ ort.

34. Ḋo ċleaṫ leaḃar a láṁ Maȝnair
meimic ḋo-ní neiṁ ar ṁó
cṁionaiḋ ṗa ċoill cṗann ḋo ċeire
baṗr an ċroinn ar ḋeire ḋó.

35. Cpoinn peaṁpa paċar n-a n-aṁaiḋ
ḋon uinnpionn ar ṗaiḋe i gcoill
noċo ċeirḋe ar ceir i Ċpaoiḋe
giḋ meirḋe leir caoile a ċpoinn.

36. Smaċt airḋriog ar ṗuḋ na Bpéirne
bíor aige 'r gupub eaḋ paiḃ
aincid cleaċ Eine 'n-a iongnair
neaċ 'r a eire ionnṁuir air.

37. Ni lamair labpa n-a aigid
an t-oireaċt ċoir tug go min
mar ḋo guiḋ máṫair i Meaḋḃa
ḋo ṫáṫaig tuir Teaṁpa an tir.

38. Biḋ [ran] ḃantroċt bíor ga iompáḋ
éaḋ mór gon ṁnaoi ḋá naċ tairg
ḋo ḋioḃpaig bean ṁaiṫ a ṁalaig
im ṗlaiṫ Bpeag i n-agaiḋ n-airḋ.

39. Liaig ḋuine i ndeagaiḋ a uċpair
aiṫniḋ ḋó a ndéanann gaċ guin
ar mbeiṫ cneaḋ ar ó Ruairc peiṁe
cuairt ba ṗear cneiḋe ḋo ċuir.

40. A-ṫá aige ir aigneaḋ conċar
clear naċ pníoṫ ag pior ḋon ṗéin
ó Ḋuaċ ar ndol ḋá niarpaiḋ
puaṫ a ċon ḃa [piaḋaiḃ] ṗéin.

41. Suan corpaċ i gcuaraiḃ talṁan
tug ar ceiṫirn cagaiḋ gairg
leabaiḋ maiṫ ḋo ḃean pe bioḋḃaiḋ
ir plaiṫ Bpeag i n-iomḋaiḋ airḋ.

42. Ni ṗéaḋam iomarḃáig longpuirt
leig ḋó mar a-ḋeir im pann
gan ḋul ḋó ḋo ṁaiṫ tar Magnur
gaċ plaiṫ ar ṁó paglar ann.

43. Magnur Mág Samraḋán Sionna
ḋo pir ċior ḋo ċuingiḋ giall
leir gaċ ḋream ar rgáṫ ar rgéiṫne
nir ṗearr táṫ na Bpéirne ag Bpian. Bpian.

44. Tadhg Mág Aonghusa an airm neimhe
neart briodhbadh ní bhia ar a tír
fan gcaith Tadhg ginne do fhrioghnamh
is linne an gasg miodhcar mín
a chrodh nocho buan le buga
gach fsol uadh is cuga ad-cím.

45. Donnchadh Mac Donnchaidh déadh folus
flighe a fasla go h-Áth Roir
le feadhac Clachtga ar ghlan ghruaidhniamh
canta dham nuaidhBhrian a-noir. Bhrian.

46. Tómár mac Bhriain ga mbí mire
mac meic Donnchaidh dheasgar chann
firfir ré dá tigh gach tírghiall
'r é rin ar fírBhrian ann. Bhrian.

47. Inghean meic Muireadhaigh Máighe
min nGaedhilghe gan ghut ndian
ní fagaimne ar Árlaith oilbéim
lánmhaith í i gcoimhéin na gcliar
uathadh bean aga mbí a uga
do lean rí buga na mBhrian. Bhrian.

Translation

1. Another Brian I consider Maghnus, for noble hitherto has been his career; gallantry has crushed all other turmoil; therefore do I liken him to Brian.
2. A Brian in chivalry and hospitality is the graceful-breasted Wolf of Bréifne; ev word of his has its effect; even wine affects it not.
3. He is all the more like Brian for the way in which he increases Teallach nEach of the goodly swords; only in anger does he draw his sword; he is gentle til gives battle.
4. Maghnus of Magh Fobhair has another trait he learned from Brian; when dar threatens him, he never thinks of all his previous wounds!
5. The bent spear or the faulty sword in his hand as he comes from battle make furious; the Prince of the Greeks then asks his armourers what was the us the flaws in his weapons!
6. When his foe is strongest the Branch of the Greeks marches forth—'tis his favou occasion—to take a *creach* from him; when he hears of his foes' death he ta no more of plundering them!
7. Uncooked food, water drunk from shoes, is what his soldiers get—and think it goo Maghnus at the rear (*i.e.*, the most exposed point) of his *creach* takes his sleep a fresh bush of soft birch.
8. Maghnus, son of Donnchadh, makes his home in a wood, withered leaves cling his hair; he lies down on his purple shaggy cloak, and the ripe nuts of the m hazel-branches drop on his breast.
9. Mág Shamhradháin leads forward his cavalry, rushing on in fierce charge; the fi has its sods cut up 'neath Codhal's Pillar riding his young graceful dashing rav like steed.

True witness does the hero get to his gallantry from his folk when the fight is over: "Thy anger (they say), O Tree of Breagha, will light up a red flame in the clouds."

Of this red-bladed warrior, even when he was not present, I have heard divers folk exclaim: "When thy anger is roused, thou hast the blood driven up into thy bright cheek."

I have heard when talking with a good artificer a just appreciation of thy choicest treasure, thy golden ring; not even thy enmity (*i.e.*, thy being a foe of his) interfered with the praise of it.

When with him on the march and hearing him speak in pious strain, I once said to him: "O Wand of Macha, even in youth thou showest how a prince can be a saint."

Ye all know Maghnus' ways: the gentler his speech the more dangerous it is; when he gives an off-hand answer look out for danger!

Not rough is his tongue addressing a foe; Duach's scion can say in gentle unemphatic way things of great import.

Never since Lugh's day was there any sustained energy that was not under control; Eanach's Flower can stand firm on slippery stone in rough flood.

One stormy day he rowed ashore—a long row—from his ship; he often traverses the white choppy foaming sea with gleaming round wooden oar-blade.

Not often does Maghnus, Lord of Aidhne, tell of foe's spear striking his chest; folk know not till after the fight how much hardship the fight caused him.

O face of Eochaidh's scion, thou hast routed the Goill down to the shore; their soldiers, unable to swim or find a boat, leaped into the sea to escape thee.

In every camp his soldiers say—'tis not flattery! "Were a man as big as the Daghdha, 'twould avail him naught (in fighting thee), O Branch of the Dubh."

"Battle-point" is (a name) often given to Donnchadh's son, reddener of lances; there is no artist, O Prince of Tlachtgha but can learn new (forms of) beauty from thy goblet.

O body of soft-haired Maghnus, noble is that companion of thine, that steel blade, as long as thy own body, which thou carriest hidden in its narrow dark leather sheath.

Any ruined church whose sanctuary has been violated rouses the captain's fury; he never excites the powerful anger of any saint; even the bird on the tree by the (holy) well he shoots not.

Mighty the throng with which Ruarc's scion goes forth to meet the wine-merchant; many the raid which the wine-tun has excited (thee to make) on Cunga's host.

One fault—one to be expected!—I find with the bragget: it dulls the sheen of the satin (tapestry) in his fort; there are splash-stains (?) from the dark-brown mead of this Dragon (Maghnus) about his round gold-adorned room.

'Tis a blindfolded faith in (the excellence of) a poem which causes its purchase by Cormac's scion, this hero for whom beer takes on its rich colour; when this Lord of the Dubh hears of someone (among us) of good talent he sends for us forthwith.

'Tis hard to get poetry enough to satisfy Teamhair's Hero whom poets love to visit; Créidhe's scion complains of a short poem, he likes (one as long as) "Éire Ard."

Liag's Branch never sleeps but to the strains of harp or sweet-stringed lyre; (only) brass strings can make their lashes close over his two hyacinth-blue eyes.

Thy axe, cleaving foe's helmet, splits him down to his knife-belt; a steel helmet (made of one piece) for which no rivet had been made to glow—a stroke from Breagha's Scald-crow splits it across.

'Tis not easy to cure his folk, who, though wounded, keep on plying lances, his wounded men returning to fight to be wounded again!

O face of Eochaidh Feidhleach's scion which no man can withstand, the hour that brings danger to face thee—in that hour thy eye-lashes remain steady!

To Mór's son so lavish with cattle the word which I once spoke was true: "The multitude of thy gifts, O Prince of Greeks, will ensure that thy fortune abide for ever."

Watching thy fierce spirit as thou chargest against naked swords all men cry out: "O Hero of Abhach, any check given thee only makes thee press forward!"

34. O hand of Maghnus, often 'tis thy thin (*i.e.*, worn out) spear which does fi fighting; the (new) shaft for thy spear is growing to age in the wood, the t the tree which is best suited for the purpose.

35. Stout branches of the tallest ash in the wood will be turned into spears; no can be found with the spear of Craoidhe's scion—though he thinks it too t

36. Eine's Spear enjoys over all Bréifne the power of a High King—may he become Besides wielding that power, he is protector of any man who bears the responsi of property.

37. No man dare withstand him; he has tamed all the nobles in the East of the I Teamhair's Lord, Meadhbh's scion, has at length united this land as his m once prayed he would.

38. Each good lady around Breagha's Prince touches (with her lips) his brow on high face; any lady to whom he grants not this favour is greatly jealous of t who can boast of it.

39. His wounding makes him a leech, for he knows the effects of each wound; bec Ruarc's scion has been wounded himself he now visits his wounded men.

40. Owing to his love of hounds Duach's scion can do what no man of his troop can his dog when he calls to it feels a dislike for its quarry!

41. Disturbed sleep in earth-caves is what he allows the rough marauding band; leaves his foe no comfortable couch while he, Prince of Breagha, sits on t throne.

42. We never have strife in camp, for as regards division of spoils he says: "Inter not with any chief who excells in plundering—provided he gets no more t Maghnus."

43. Maghnus Mág Shamhradháin of the Sionann insists on cess and exacts hostag to him belongs every folk which is sheltered by our shield; not even Brian Bréifne better united.

44. In fierce-bladed Tadhg Mág Aonghusa's land no foe shall rule; owing to service wh that sturdy gentle courteous hero has ever done me I count him as one of my folk; owing to his lavishness his treasure is short-lived; that is why I see poets making for him.

45. Donnchadh Mac Donnchaidh, white teeth—he raids even to Áth Rois: Tlachtgh comely-faced hawk—I call him another Brian.

46. Tómás, Brian's son with whom I live, Donnchadh's grand-son reddener of spe will demand for his castle the hostages of every land, he too is a true Brian

47. The daughter of the son of Muireadhach of the Máigh, gentle of speech, uttering harsh word—we find no fault in this Órlaith; she excels in tending poets, continues the Brians' hospitable ways—few the ladies now so disposed!

NOTES

Magauran MS p. 15. 1*cd.* oıle : oıpe. 7*a.* ımuınc. 8*c.* co. cl. 9*c.* f 11*c.* fın ʒp. ; *d.* a cɲu. 12*a.* aʒ *abest* *c.* cola 13*c.* Or *leg.* maɲcp 17*c.* ca. co. *d.* co. cp. 18*a.* aıdṁeap 20*d.* oail 25*a.* bɲeʒoıo (e may o, o may be ó) ; Prof. Ó Raghallaigh (Galway) suggests *English* "bragget" (variou spelt) in Ap Aʒaıó 1939 Dec. p. 55 *c.* froíom, usually "lace-work"; possibly h *Eng.* "steam" 27*b.* ʒup cıʒ (=ʒup a cıʒ) is strange, *cf.* 24 P 8 190 28*c.* oaóa 29*a. Leg.* clozao ? *c.* oonap ; caıɲm *d.* ıaɲɲoımo 31*a.* a o ea. 33*a.* oeɲɲ 35*a.* na ap. 38*a.* ʒon *b.* oonaċ *c.* malaıċ 40*d.* fıaóaın, *sic leg.* "master" 42*b.* ın R. (?) 43*b.* cuınoıċ 44*a.* mac *d.* mıċap 45*a.* † 1310 46. Brother a successor of Maghnus *a.* mḃe 47. Unidentified lady

TEMPLEMOYLE AGRICULTURAL SEMINARY 1827—1866

BY DAVID KENNEDY, M.SC., H.DIP.E.

WHEN the State took control of popular education in Ireland in 1832, it was with the deliberate though ıcealed aim of keeping the children of the poor in the exact tion in life into which they were born. This aim did not ginate, however, with the National Board: it had been enly stated as one of the ends of popular education one ndred years earlier by the founders of the Charity and arter Schools. But reports of unprejudiced observers like hn Howard, F.R.S., John Wesley, Sir J. Fitzpatrick, and a Royal Commission (1825) had so discredited the Charter hool system that an urgent need was felt by the governing sses for a rehabilitation of the old aim.

An age which justified the unrestrained rapacity of indus- al capitalism under the name of liberty proceeded, under e current cant of humanitarianism, to foist on the middle d lower classes a repressive and restrictive system of educa- n—thereby destroying, in Ireland, a nation-wide system education which was at once truly popular and liberal. ıe landed aristocracy of the eighteenth century had stated eir educational aims cynically but truthfully; the industrial ıgnates of the nineteenth cloaked theirs in high-sounding ɔralities.

It was to Switzerland that the enlightened liberals of e day turned for guidance, and in particular to the schools M. de Fellenberg at Hofwyl. Two articles in the *Edinburgh view* (December 1818 and October 1819) by Henry ougham directed public attention in Great Britain to these ıools, and in Ireland the Rev. William Hickey, M.A., Rector Bannow, Sir Thomas Wyse, of the well-known Waterford mily, and Sir Robert Ferguson, M.P., were among the pporters of the de Fellenberg system. O'Connell himself

may have been interested in the scheme. At any rate a bo on agricultural education published in London in 1835 *inter alia*, dedicated to "Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. most uncompromising and able defender of the Irish peop and to "M. De Fellenberg, the great benefactor of his spec who has invented and exhibited a system of rational educat applicable to every country in the world, and peculia applicable to Ireland."

The Rev. William Hickey, mentioned above, had found an agricultural school at Bannow, Co. Wexford, on the Fellenberg model, and the aims and methods of this sch along with its derivation from the Hofwyl school and fr Pestalozzi's Farm School at Neuhof have been fully set by Dr. J. J. Holland in his pamphlet "The Bannow Fa School (1821-1827)." (Published by Browne & Nolan for t Department of Education, U.C.D.). Sir Robert Fergus was a leading figure in an Ulster school on the same lir about which the facts are not so well known and which is t subject of this article.

A plan to establish an Agricultural Seminary was su mitted to the North-West of Ireland Society at their meeti held in Derry in April 1823, but four years elapsed before t seminary was opened at Templemoyle, half-way betwe Derry and Limavady. Subscriptions in aid of the scheme h been invited in 1826 and about £4,000 was raised, the lan lords of Derry and the neighbouring counties being the chi subscribers. Sir Robert Ferguson, M.P., a member of th committee of management at the school, in his eviden before the Select Committee on Education in Ireland (183 related how the Society intended to dispose of the mone thus raised. He said :—

> It was intended to form two schools, one . . . at Fallowlea, for th sons of gentry of the county, who were to pay largely for their educa tion ; another at the Farming Offices, about a quarter of a mile fro that, for the sons of farmers ; . . . It was intended that a first-ra classical education should be given at the school at Fallowlea, an

[1] *Instruct ; Employ ; Don't Hang Them : or, Ireland tranquilized without soldie and enriched without English capital.* . . . . By John Pitt Kennedy. London, 183 Pp. 166.

t there should be lectures on agricultural chemistry and different jects, to which the pupils from the other seminary at Templemoyle uld be admitted . . .

Sir Robert Ferguson stated explicitly in evidence that s plan was copied directly from the schools of M. de Fellen-g at Hofwyl, Switzerland, which included a seminary for poor and an academy for the sons of the wealthy. In the ademy fifty or sixty pupils were taught " every branch of gant and useful learning." The curriculum combined ssical education with agricultural science and was adapted the needs of future landed proprietors. In the study of thematics, Mr. Brougham wrote, the pupils " are carefully arded against the pride of successful calculation, which is to overlook Divine power in the consideration of its own." Whether this precaution was necessary at Fallowlea we not know. This imitation of the Hofwyl Academy lasted le more than a year; and thereafter the energies of the mmittee of management were devoted to the Templemoyle e of the experiment. The principal reason for the failure Fallowlea was the fact that most of the gentry continued send their sons to be educated in England; but added to s was the fear that it was a dangerous experiment to educate sons of gentlemen alongside the sons of farmers, even ough the actual school buildings might be separated by a arter of a mile. Mr. Brougham had written of Hofwyl: t must not be supposed that the pupils of the two schools at all on the footing of companions—nothing can be further m Mr. de Fellenberg's ideas than a fanciful equality wholly onsistent with a wholesome constitution of society." At lowlea a pupil could, at the wish of his parents, acquire practical knowledge of agriculture by taking part in the ivities of the Templemoyle school—this however, says an cial account, " without rendering necessary a general inter-rse between the pupils, to which some might be disposed object."

With the closing of Fallowlea the Grocer's Company took k the house which it had helped to build and some of the d around it and rented to the North-West Society an

additional 90 acres at Templemoyle. Contemporary accou are effusively grateful to the Grocer's Company for its ge rosity, but neither the site nor the soil was valuable. Howev the Society determinedly closed its eyes to the drawba and saw in them only additional opportunities for further agricultural education. The farm was described as follows

The farm consists of 135 Cunningham, or 169 Statute acres, v a North-Eastern aspect, rising gradually from the House, which is feet above the level of the sea, till it attains a height of 313 feet ; soil is mostly a thin retentive clay on a micacious sub-soil, wh together with the height and aspect will account for the small prod when compared with the skill and labour expended on it. Th circumstances occasion the patrons of the Establishment a m greater expense than if the soil had been more grateful in its retur but, the disadvantage is lessened, when it is considered that it pres a much greater field for the instruction of the pupils, who are tau increased vigilance in watching the seasons for ploughing, sow and reaping, rendered particularly precarious by the above circu stances. The school might have been situated where draining co only have been taught in its theory ; here, every field is and, we m say, always will be a practical lesson, as pecuniary means are the o limits to draining such retentive soils.

Mr. Brougham had written of the Seminary for the P at Hofwyl : " It is never allowed for a moment to be abs from their [*i.e.*, the pupils'] thoughts that manual labour, cultivating the ground, is the paramount care which m employ their whole lives . . . . To this everything else is ma subordinate." The statement can be paralleled in an offic account of Templemoyle which stated : " The great obj of all industrial schools should be, as in M. Fellenberg's, elevate the intellectual and moral condition of the pup without incapacitating them for their ordinary occupation For the purposes of instruction the boys were divided into t equal sections. While one half was in school studying literary subjects under the head-master, the other half was work on the farm under the supervision of the head-farm The regulations give the following account of the latter p of the work :—

As the great object is to make the boys practical farmers, one h of them will be at all times on the farm, where they will be emplo

manual labour and receive from the headfarmer such instructions, ons, and explanations as will render the mode of proceeding, in the various operations of the farm, sufficiently intelligible to them. ry pupil is to be made a ploughman, and taught, not only how to but also how to settle the plough-irons for every soil and work; to be instructed and made acquainted with the purpose and ctical management of every other implement generally used. And are to be kept closely to their work, either by the head-farmer or, his unavoidable absence, by the monitor placed by him in charge hem.

The emphasis on practical work was in striking contrast the haphazard treatment accorded to literary subjects. talozzi, de Fellenberg, and their disciples had claimed t the time expended on practical work would redound to advantage of the literary subjects. At Templemoyle, actual fact, the education of the boys was neglected in our of work on the farm, although the Committee were ustomed to hold annual examinations at which they were nt to express their surprise at the standards attained. w far this surprise was a reliable criterion of progress we do know. It is certain, however, that when the school was ntually taken over by the National Board the report of ir inspector was anything but favourable.

One of the Board's inspectors visited the school in 1856, his report is a devastating commentary on the complacent tude of the Committee of Management towards the educa- al standards of Templemoyle. He wrote: "In March I met the Committee by appointment at Templemoyle, held an examination of all the pupils. That examination partly oral and partly written, and was such as might be ected to be given to a Fourth Class in an ordinary National ool. I then proceeded to examine the written papers— answering in general *was very bad* [italics in original] . . . ing upon my suggestion, the Committee then directed that pupils should be re-classified (not as formerly, by their and physical ability), but by their intellectual attain- nts."

The National Board had entered the field of agricultural cation in 1834. Its policy cannot be followed out in detail

here. It will suffice to say that it adopted the de Fellenb system with all its restrictive implications. The views of Thomas Wyse, who played such a prominent part in the fo dation of the Board, are given in a recent biography.[1] " ideas on the actual practice of education were drawn chi from de Fellenberg and the Swiss Agricultural School, an a lesser degree from Pestalozzi, though he felt the latt system of training was too intellectual, due to its depende on the recommendations of Rousseau. He favoured a paration for the exact station in life to which a pupil wa be called, and this was also de Fellenberg's principle."

Templemoyle did not come under the National Bo until 1854; its attitude was probably dictated by the trust felt at that time by the Church of Ireland for the Nati Schools. The original subscribers had included the I testant bishops of Derry and Raphoe; and the manag committee, composed of landed gentry, must have been sympathy with the policy of the then Established Chu The change in their attitude is best expressed in the words a Rector of Ballymena who in 1869 declared: "I grea feared that the National Schools would prove to be educatio hot-beds for stimulating, to an undue and morbid exte the intellects of the children . . . Gradually these apprehensi have vanished."

In associating Templemoyle with the National Board, Committee hailed "the day when the principle of moral a industrial training, on which it was founded, has become universally acknowledged and adopted, and [they] rejo in the more fully developed and extended utility to be expec from the school, as forming part of a great national syster Their hopes, however, were not justified; for ten years la Templemoyle closed its doors. The Report of the Natio Board for 1866 contains the following account of its end

I regret to say that Templemoyle . . . became inoperative towa the close of the year.

Notwithstanding the liberal annual grant of £320 a year made the Commissioners towards the payment of salaries and the ma

[1] *Sir Thomas Wyse*, 1791-1862, by J. J. Auchmuty. London. 1939. [1] p. 161

nce of pupils, the local committee found themselves so embarrassed
a debt of about £1,000 . . . that they resolved on selling stock and
ıs, paying off the debt, and closing the establishment. They publicly
ertised the sale, as well as their intention of closing the school,
ıout having given any previous intimation to the Commissioners.
The farm and farm buildings then came into the hands of the
llords, who are the Grocers' Company, which I am credibly in-
ned owns about 12,000 acres in the North of Ireland.
During the present year I was directed to visit Templemoyle with
ew of reporting on the feasibility of re-establishing it, either under
exclusive management of the Commissioners or by giving . . . .
quate encouragement to a competent man to carry it on as a private
ulation.
The agent of the Grocers' Company informed me that the only
ıs on which any application of the kind could be entertained would
to pay the company, in addition to the rent of the land, six per
. on the money originally sunk in the buildings.

Evidently the Board was not prepared to accept these
ms, for the name of Templemoyle does not appear again
heir Reports. It is worth noting here that in 1856, after
ıost thirty years as a private institution, the debt on
nplemoyle was only £510; while in 1866, after an annual
sidy of £320 a year for ten years from the National Board,
debt had risen to £1,000.

The failure of Templemoyle was a symptom of the decay
he prestige and power of the ascendancy class in Ireland.
was founded to support their interests, but not all the
cious glamour of Liberalism could hide its true aim from
intended victim, the Irish farmer. In 1851 one of the
ional Board's inspectors wrote: "I have heard with
ch regret that in many places the proceedings of the agri-
ural schools are looked on with suspicion by the farmers
peasantry, who regard them as agencies instituted and
ported for the purpose of keeping up *high rents*."
There were abundant grounds for the farmers' suspicions.
re is detailed documentary evidence available of one
ance where a scheme of agricultural education on an
te was the principal feature of a systematic plan, extend-
over a number of years, for raising the rents from £1
9d. in 1838 to £1,853 12s. in 1859! No wonder the

landlords were enthusiastic and no wonder the tenants v suspicious. It is significant that, with the introduction of various land acts for the improvement of the tenants' posit the landlords' interest began to wane and agricultural educat on the de Fellenberg system gradually disappeared.

It might have succeeded in making the Irish farme contented slave had it not been for the truly popular liberal system of education which it attempted to displ The forty-shilling freeholders of Clare and Waterford, w their Hedge School education, had had the temerity to th politically for themselves; so the Hedge Schools had to destroyed. So alien was the idea of political liberty to a la lord, even a Liberal landlord, that Sir Thomas Wyse, retur to Parliament by those same forty-shilling freeholders, co write [1]: "Education, like all other civilisation, ought to p ceed downwards, and I do not know whether the very reve of this principle does not appear in Ireland. The lower cl proportionately to their position are better educated th the middle and upper. It is the contrary on the Contine This is, as much as anything else, the cause which contribu to sustain the marked distinctions between the classes wh is the curse of Ireland."

This unwilling tribute to popular education in Ireland w well deserved, and in spite of the activities of Templemo and of the National Board the traditional love of learni persisted into our own time. But it is a tradition that is figh ing for its existence. A century ago the current educatio racket was "Useful Education." What is it to-day? Perha it is "Education for Leisure." In the economic field we a building a new Ireland and, fascinated by the material weal of our great neighbour, we seem hardly to be aware that t great age of capitalism has passed. In the field of popul education we have a history unequalled in Europe, yet t slime of Liberalism still covers our thought—awaiting remov by a harsh and perhaps caustic detergent.

DAVID KENNEDY

[1] Op. cit. p. 151.

IE HUNDRED YEARS OF JESUIT MISSIONS *

BY ALBERICUS

HE Society of Jesus celebrates this year the fourth centenary of its confirmation by the Holy See (1540-1940). The world-is through which we are passing makes it impossible for Jesuits nany countries to carry through the ordinary programme of joyful ımmemoration. But a group of Jesuit scholars have been working some years past on the production of a series of historical mono-phs, planned with the intention of illustrating from various angles modern Jesuit contribution to Catholic life and thought. Father o's volume is, we think, the most valuable contribution that has peared so far; it is an exceptionally solid and well-documented ount of one important Jesuit apostolate. His theme has not been full history of modern Jesuit missionary work in pagan lands. at would be an immense task and would involve a far more elaborate eme of publication. There are to-day some 3,600 Jesuit priests, olastics and brothers working on the pagan mission-field in forty-e different mission-territories. They are to be found in each of five continents (for the small Jesuit mission in Albania, though hin Europe, lies in Mahommedan territory), and it is obvious that complete history of these various enterprises could be attempted one volume.

Father Otto has wisely limited his subject to the decisive work one who ranks as the true founder of the restored Society of Jesus: ther John Philip Roothaan, a native of Amsterdam and the most mmanding figure in Jesuit history during his long generalate (1829-. Father Roothaan's personal biography has not yet been told English form, and a recent French biography is frankly disappointing. ose who have read the more elaborate account of his life's work ich a Dutch Jesuit scholar, Father Peter Albers, published at megen in 1900, will know the story of his early vocation in Amster-n; his entry into the Jesuit novitiate of White Russia (the Russian vince of partitioned Poland); his early promise as a theological dent; his work as director of studies in White Russia; his personal re in the popular missions and preaching of the Jesuit Fathers, t in Poland, then in Switzerland; his astonishing command of eral European languages; his seven years of government as rector a Jesuit university at Turin under the monarchy of Charles Felix;

* *Gründung der neuen Jesuitenmission durch General Pater Johann Philipp Roothaan.* Joseph Albert Otto, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1939. 550 pp.

and his brief tenure of office as provincial in Rome, where he ca into contact with the new men who were crowding into the Soc after its restoration in 1814. All these diverse experiences of Je life and work were a providential preparation for the immense t which awaited him on his election to the office of Father Genera 1829.

One of the main problems to be faced at the time of Roothaa election was the revival of Jesuit missions in pagan lands. immediate predecessor, Father Aloysius Fortis, had followed a cauti policy. For the time being the new Society was overwhelmed w appeals from all quarters for the revival of Jesuit colleges and residen in Europe. The missions must wait, he held, until the Society w firmly established nearer home. Father Roothaan was of a differ mind, and his appeal to the Society for missionary volunteers, issu from Rome on the feast of St. Francis Xavier 1833, marks an epo in Jesuit history. The new General had not waited for this pub appeal; he had already established missions in the Greek Islan (1830) and in Syria (1831), and one Flemish Jesuit, Father Van Quick borne, had been permitted to lead a missionary caravan across No America to the Red Indian territory as early as 1823. This expediti had been followed by a second, but a permanent foundation had n yet been made. The General was eager to assist Father Van Quicke borne, and authority was given for the establishment of a permane mission to the Red Indians in May, 1834.

Father Roothaan's appeal met with an astonishing response. App cations for permission to work on the missions had been refused ti and again by Father Fortis; and the revolutionary year of 1830 h threatened Jesuits in many lands with loss of property and even deat But more than half the number of Jesuits then working in Euro sent in their names as volunteers; and the General could claim, in second letter, that the Society had lost none of its missionary ardo during the forty years of its suppression. By the time of his dea in 1853 he had received 1,260 letters from his subjects begging to allowed go on one or other of the pagan mission-fields.

The trouble was rather where to begin. Apart from the two sma groups that were working in the Greek Islands and Syria, no Jesu mission was in existence; and the pagan world was full of the trag ruins of what had once been famous Jesuit missions. In China, f example, the last survivors of the old Jesuit mission at the court the Emperor had lived on to within a few years of the restoration 1814. They had begged to be admitted to the new Society, as soo as it should be publicly restored; meanwhile their work in China ha passed to the French Lazarist (Vincentian) Fathers, who were n finding it easy to maintain the necessary number of recruits. Th

teenth century had been a tragic period of persecution, and Chinese ed of foreign influences was not lessened by the English commercial y of imperial expansion. The Bocca Tigris forts at Canton were ed open in 1816. The Opium War (1839-42) had not yet come eave its legacy of hatred, but trouble was already brewing. In a the Catholic missions had been injured, almost beyond hope epair, by lamentable dissensions over the Malabar rites and the uguese *padroado*. The English East India Company had ousted French and Portuguese settlers from the control of India, and the pany was hostile to all missionary work—most of all to Catholic ions. In South America the great mission-field of Paraguay lay ins ; and the Society's work in Brazil, Argentine, Peru and Mexico been shattered for more than half a century.

Letters were now coming from all sides, and Father Roothaan also in close personal contact with the Holy See. Two years after wn election Gregory XVI was elected Pope (1831-46). Whatever hortcomings as a temporal ruler of the Papal States, Gregory XVI rves lasting remembrance for his work as the re-builder of Catholic ionary work and as almost a second founder of Propaganda. In ner Roothaan he found a zealous collaborator, and the two men ked together for the next fifteen years. By the end of that time ner Roothaan had the consolation of seeing Jesuit mission-fields organised in Albania (1840), Algeria (1840), Madagascar (1844), ura (1837), Kiangnan near Pekin (1841), Indian Territory of U.S. 4), Rocky Mountains (1840), Indian Territory in Canada (1844), aica and Honduras (1837). In addition to these successful efforts, e had been an attempt to renew the old missionary traditions in ntine and Paraguay (1843) ; an adventurous but short-lived edition into Central Africa under the Polish Jesuit, Maximilian o (1846-49) ; and an important but unsuccessful attempt to found suit mission at Calcutta (1834-46). This last effort ended in rent failure, but was to be renewed and pushed to a successful dation within a few years of Father Roothaan's death. Perhaps greatest disappointment in the General's missionary campaign his failure (1838-40) to renew the Jesuit mission in Japan. Propada offered the mission in 1838, but it was finally entrusted to the s Congregation of Foreign Missions (1844).

t will be seen that these Jesuit enterprises were not limited to one mission-field. The missionary history of the past hundred s shows a clear tendency in two directions. On the one hand, ain powerful and most successful societies have aimed at building a group of missions in one special mission-field. The work in ca of the White Fathers, the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Society he African Missions, or (in the Far East) the work of the Paris

Society of Foreign Missions, may be cited as classic examples of type of missionary organisation. It has all the enormous advant that come from specialisation and united action. On the other h there have always been missionary bodies, old and new, who have themselves ready to take up missionary work whenever and wher they have been asked to do so. That was the policy followe Father Roothaan. His programme was simple: if he had the he sent them. If not, he looked around to see where men coul got for the plans of the Holy See.

Many of the missions founded in this way by Gregory XVI Father Roothaan are still counted among the most important flourishing missions of the Society. Certain familiar names are ab from the list: the great French Jesuit mission to Shanghai, w has to-day been sub-divided into a group of territories; the D mission in the East Indies; the Belgian mission to the Congo; American mission to Alaska. But these examples of later gr are no more than a logical sequel to the work which Father Rooth set himself to do. The success of men like Father De Smet in Rocky Mountains or the French pioneer missionaries in Mad Kiangnan and Madagascar show how truly he had judged the possib of renewing the missionary glory of the old Society.

One or two points may be noted as examples of missionary met The Holy See to-day insists so strongly on the need of a native cl that we are apt to think the policy more modern than it actuall The first native Indian Jesuit was ordained in Father Rootha lifetime (1844). A special novitiate for Indian Jesuits was op in 1847; and we find the General pressing for native Chinese vocat at the same time. As was inevitable, the Jesuits were accuse hindering the growth of a native secular priesthood in these coun by their policy of accepting Indian and Chinese novices. Men w zeal cannot be questioned differed sharply on this fundamental is and the great French Congregation of the Foreign Missions was insis on the opposite policy. But experience does not always confirm views of those whose zeal cannot be questioned. Many of the stud in the Indian seminaries disappointed the hopes of their educat and the Jesuits had a good case when they argued in favour of t own more cautious policy: a native secular priesthood after and thro a native priesthood which had been taught to exercise a priest's apo late under the protection of vows and rules. One fact at least is w citing. The French Jesuit mission to Madura, which was for m years accused of hindering the work of native Indian vocations, the first Indian mission able to separate (1921) a whole diocese (T corin) from its own territory and entrust it completely to Indian pri under an Indian bishop. More recently this same Madura mis

elebrated (1938) its centenary by separating yet a second missionary ict (Trichinopoly) under similar conditions. And the Italian it mission of Mangalore was the first to follow Madura's example 28. Father Roothaan would have rejoiced in this consummation. rish readers will turn with special interest to the pages in which ier Otto tells the story of the Jesuit mission in Calcutta. We e here an important contribution to missionary history, based on ublished documents from the official Jesuit archives ; for Calcutta, of the great sorrows of Father Roothaan's missionary experiences, to provide a test-case for an all-important problem of missionary nisation. And the Jesuit General, learning from his experiences, to make a fundamental change in Jesuit missionary strategy. s the story of two men clashing on a question of principle, each vinced of the rectitude of his own policy, each partly right, partly ng. In the end a compromise was reached, after much sorrow pain to individuals, but to the lasting good of the Catholic Church. Catholic missionary activity in India during the sixteenth, seventh and eighteenth centuries had been mainly confined to the icts in which Portuguese influence had been strongest. The four ent sees of Goa, Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore enjoyed the rights of the Portuguese *padroado*, but lacked all effective support n the Portuguese government. In 1833 the Portuguese Crown so hostile to Catholic influences that it decreed the expulsion of eligious orders from its territories and the confiscation of all their perty. Gregory XVI was convinced that the time had passed n the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Portuguese vn could be maintained by the Holy See. In 1831 he erected e new Apostolic Vicariates, directly under Propaganda and freed n the hampering conditions of Portuguese jurisdiction : Hindustan-et, Bombay and Malabar. During the next three years (1832-34) new Vicariates were added (Madras and Bengal), and three more 1834-36 : Pondicherry, Madura and Ceylon. In all these new tions the existing Portuguese privileges were declared null and l. When the Portuguese Government protested, Gregory XVI vered its protests by a further and more decisive act. By his f *Multa praeclare* (1838) he withdrew all Portuguese privileges, n in the three ancient sees of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore, ch were redistributed as missionary territories under the Vicars Madras and Malabar. Henceforth the *padroado* rights were to be ted to the archbishopric of Goa.

This bold policy could be justified on grounds of theory, but its ediate effects were disastrous. The bulk of the Portuguese stians in India went into open schism, and were encouraged by Archbishop of Goa, Silva Torres, whose appointment had been

confirmed (1843) on the express understanding that he accepte new papal legislation. He reached Bombay in 1844, denounce brief *Multa praeclare* as illegal and of no effect, and led his p into open defiance of the Holy See. This schism was only end 1857-60 by the negotiation of a new concordat with Portugal.

In the midst of these troubles (1832) an appeal came to I from the Augustinian Fathers in Calcutta begging for the appoint of a new Bishop. The Christian population of Calcutta had sh from a maximum of some 25,000 souls to a total of 13,000, mo whom were only Christians in name. The city meanwhile had g under the East India Company's rule from some 100,000 to 180 and was destined to grow to 229,000 before 1839. The report o first Jesuits who reached Calcutta in 1834 described the Chris of Bengal as *pauperrimi, otiosissimi, ignorantissimi.* But the ro the trouble lay deeper. The priests on the mission were divide their allegiance between Rome and Portugal, and their apost had lost all its earlier vitality. Where could they hope to find a le so long as Bengal remained no more than a portion of the vast Vica of Tibet-Hindustan? Gregory XVI passed on this appeal to Fa Roothaan, whose thoughts turned naturally to England or Irel where he might hope to find priests acceptable to the English offi in India.

Ireland had not yet been organised as a full province, but ruled by a Vice-Provincial immediately under the General's jurisdict In 1834 this post was held by Father Robert St.-Leger, one of candidates for admission to the restored Society whom Father Be had chosen as far back as 1809. Father Robert and his you brother, Father John, were eager to answer the Father Gene appeal, and offered their services for the new Calcutta mission. Fa Roothaan accepted their generous offer and appointed Father Ro as Superior of the mission. He was to go out in the summer of with his brother, two English Jesuit priests, a French priest, two lay-brothers, one French, one Irish (Brother Sinnott). The I Province can thus claim that it was not slow to respond to the ap of December 3, 1833.

But the new mission was hampered from the first by a gr difference of opinion between Father Roothaan and the authori of Propaganda. Since the days of Saint Ignatius, it had been a tr tion that Jesuits were not free to accept bishoprics, save in exceptic circumstances and at the express orders of the Holy See. Even the missionary work of the old Society Jesuit missionary Bishops been the exception, not the rule; and there is no more fundame distinction between these older missionary efforts and the mod movement inaugurated by Gregory XVI than the fixed policy

n Rome has always insisted in the past hundred years on the anent and full organisation of a missionary hierarchy. Time to show the wisdom of this new policy, and Father Roothaan finally induced to give his reluctant consent just thirteen years the establishment of the new mission in Bengal. But he was om accepting the principle of Jesuit missionary Bishops in 1834, here were obvious reasons why he should insist on strict adherence gnatian policy. The founder had always maintained that the being and effective apostolate of the Society would be gravely ired by the practice of allowing Jesuit priests to be chosen freely piscopal honours. Those outside the Society did not always this view, and at this very time there was a determined effort ne United States to secure the consecration of Jesuit Bishops—ng them the Irish Visitor, Father Peter Kenney, who twice narrowly ed this unwelcome promotion.

ather Otto tells the story of Father St.-Leger's experiences in so far as it can be illustrated from Jesuit archives; but there is ly another side to the story, which can only be known when Propaganda archives for this period have been thoroughly ex-ed. The opening scene, as described by Father Otto, shows the on that must have existed in Roman circles at this time. Father haan had been informed, in general terms, that there was question aking the new mission a Vicariate of Bengal, but he seems to been left under the impression that the Jesuit Superior would be given more than a few exceptional powers. His surprise was when, two days before Father St.-Leger and his companions Rome, Gregory XVI issued a brief erecting the new Vicariate and ng Father Robert as its first Vicar Apostolic. It is not even in that Father Roothaan was officially notified of this decision, there seems to have been a good deal of doubt as to the powers ne new Vicar. Whatever the precise legal facts, it is certain that er Robert, who got the news the day before his departure, came ne Father General's room in great distress, late in the evening, assured him that he would never have volunteered for the mission, he known that this would be the sequel.

Under this cloud of uncertainty and misunderstanding, the small ionary group left Rome, and sailed from Plymouth in May 1834. were at Calcutta towards the end of September, and the arrival Vicar Apostolic, with powers conferred directly from the Holy without any reference to the Portuguese Government, altered whole situation among the Catholics of Bengal. The majority he Portuguese priests, as in other parts of India, refused to owledge Father St.-Leger's jurisdiction, but the English officials heir pleasure be seen in the cordiality of their reception. The

news from Calcutta was just what Propaganda had hoped for, Father St.-Leger was encouraged to go forward boldly with a p that departed on many points from the more timid policy o predecessors. A college, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, was op within a few months, and its success was so great that a few years (1843) a wealthy Bengali merchant made a gift of a large sum of m to establish a public school, open to Hindus, Mahommedans and Christ of all denominations, under the direction of the Jesuit Fath Meanwhile an awkward problem arose over the administration fund bequeathed by a French Catholic for the endowment of a pu school. The Anglican missionaries sought to obtain full control of money for their own purposes. Father St.-Leger succeeded in obt ing a share for Catholic students, but only by accepting a schem inter-denominational education which was totally opposed to Fa Roothaan's principles of missionary apostolate.

Apart from this major question of policy, the whole positio the Vicar Apostolic was soon found to be most difficult. Many the Catholics in Bengal were urgent in their entreaties that their V should be granted full episcopal powers, thereby to improve the stand of the Catholic Church in a city that was being transformed into capital of modern India. Father St.-Leger reported these approac to Rome and met with two completely different answers. Propaga was eager to establish a diocese without further delay, and let it be s that Father Robert would be their very first choice. The Jesuit Gen was up in arms at once, and Father St.-Leger found himself caugh a conflict of two loyalties. Father Otto's narrative makes it pl that he looked to Propaganda, not to the Father General, for direct in these matters; and correspondence between himself and Fat Roothaan was interrupted for two full years. Matters came t crisis in 1838, when Father St.-Leger gave his sanction to the use a joint inter-denominational catechism in the new college. With fuller information than is to be found in Father Otto's pages, it impossible to pass judgment on the rights and wrongs of the controve that followed. Almost to the last moment, it seemed certain t Propaganda would have its way and would raise Father St.-Leger episcopal honours as the first Bishop or Archbishop of Calcutta. Father Roothaan's urgent entreaties, backed by his protests agai the new inter-denominational policy, were finally successful, and two brothers were recalled from Calcutta towards the end of 18

For the next eight years the Jesuit mission in Bengal was entrust to the English Jesuit Fathers, whilst Propaganda appointed a Fren man, Mgr. Tabard, as the new Vicar Apostolic. He died in 18 and was succeeded by Mgr. Carew, a former professor of theology Maynooth who had volunteered for the mission in Madras and w

been acting as Coadjutor Bishop there since 1838. Dr. Carew
l Calcutta as Vicar Apostolic until 1843, when he was raised to
dignity of first Archbishop of Calcutta. He was a man of strong
acter and great organising powers, with very definite views as
he proper relations between himself and his missionary priests.
French Jesuit Father who had gone out with Father St.-Leger
834 (and who died in 1843) had his full confidence, but the English
ners found it almost impossible to adapt themselves to his rule.
ealth added to their difficulties, and they begged to be relieved
eir task. Father Roothaan was unwilling to abandon so promising
ission, but was finally forced to consent to their departure. They
Calcutta in 1846, and Bengal was without Jesuit missionaries for
next ten years. In 1859 the Belgian Fathers came back to the work
ch had been begun in 1834, and their mission, now divided into two
itories, is perhaps the most successful of all modern Jesuit missions.
Father Roothaan's methods of government are nowhere better
strated than in his treatment of Father St.-Leger after his return
n India in 1839. His first care was to write to the English and
h Provincials, begging them to see to it that the two brothers
uld be received with every mark of affection and esteem. Father
ert had hoped that he might be allowed to return to the Indian
sions, no longer as Superior but as a private in the ranks of his
hren. That wish could no longer be granted, but the General
nd an emphatic expression of his own personal regard. Two years
r Father Robert's return to Europe, he nominated him once more
e-Provincial in Ireland, and he maintained him in this responsible
t for nine full years (1841-50). No better proof could be wanted
he fact that the General knew his man well. Father Robert might
e failed in Calcutta, but he had been placed, through no fault of
own, in a position of great difficulty. As Vice-Provincial he was
e to do something for the Indian missions to which he had hoped
ledicate his life. In 1848 Father Roothaan sanctioned the sending
wo Irish Jesuits, Fathers Sheehan and Kyan, to Bombay, where
y were to assist an Irish Carmelite Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Whelan.
e choice of these two men was left to Father St.-Leger. Father
an's health proved unequal to the climate, but Father Sheehan
ved himself an ideal missionary under very difficult conditions.
Meanwhile, Father Roothaan had shown himself capable of learning
n the experiences of the past. Whilst the mission in Bengal was
sing through this crisis French Jesuit Fathers had been sent
Madura in 1837. No mission-territory in India had more glorious
mories, and the blood of martyrs that had been shed in the old
iety was now the seed of Christians in great number. The founder
the modern mission was Father Bertrand, who went out as first

Superior of the mission in 1837. Propaganda had followed the sa policy in his case as in the case of Father St.-Leger, and the new Supe was nominated Vicar Apostolic, without the knowledge or cons of Father Roothaan. Alarmed at the prospect of another crisis such was even then disturbing the mission in Calcutta, the General petitio for a change in this decree; and the Pope ended by yielding to urgent remonstrances. But it was not for long. The very succ of Father Bertrand's mission led to a great increase in the number missionary recruits from France, and his health demanded the appoi ment of a successor within the next few years. Father Canoz sent out from France in 1844, and began a career that was to pl the Madura mission in the forefront of Indian missionary developme

The time had come for a change of policy. Father Bertrand, w his wide knowledge of local Indian conditions, returned home to Eur and exerted all his energy to win Father Roothaan to Propagand methods of missionary organisation. He drafted a full statement the position, with the reasons for and against a change of Jesuit poli The Father General was impressed and felt unable to maintain policy of unwavering opposition. Unwilling to make himself sponsible for so grave a departure from the traditions of Saint Ignati he submitted the whole matter to Gregory XVI for final decisi The Pope had no doubts as to the true solution of the problem, Father Canoz was finally appointed Vicar Apostolic with full episco powers in June 1847. He was the first of a long line of modern Jes missionaries who have accepted this dignity at the bidding of obedien and his successful administration of the Madura mission (1847- is the best possible justification of this new policy. In the last y of his long life he insisted on making a full apostolic tour of his dioc and had the consolation of administering the sacrament of Confirmat to 2,440 children. When he died, his loss was felt to be the pass of one of India's greatest missionary prelates.

These experiences were being gained abroad at a time when Eur seemed about to renew, in the stormy years of 1848-9, the total s pression of the Society which had been achieved by the anti-Cath forces of the eighteenth century. Father Roothaan lived to be exile for two years from Rome and to see the Holy Father himself flight from the Vatican.[1] They were anxious, heart-breaking da But the General could at least console himself with the thought th if the work of his brethren in Europe were to be dissolved like s in water, their work in so many pagan mission-fields had never b more flourishing. And a similar consolation has been granted to successor to-day.

ALBERICUS

[1] In the course of his wanderings Father Roothaan paid a visit to Ireland in autumn of 1849, and was the guest of Father Robert St.-Leger.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

CHAEOLOGY AND SOCIETY. By Graham Clarke. London : Methuen. 1939. Pp. 220. 7s. 6d. net.

better evidence of the advance of archæology in popular favour d be offered than the appearance of this volume. Its appeal is " Everyman," that general reader to whom the term archæology veys little more than the term teratology, but who is ready if not ious for enlightenment. He is told here in a pleasant easy manner the expert goes about his work ; how his attention becomes focussed n ancient site, how he goes about the digging of it, how he studies dates his finds, and how he deduces from them the mode of life by man in remote ages. In civilized countries to-day it is taken e and more for granted that this type of knowledge should be essed by every educated man.

Perhaps the two most interesting chapters in the book are the and the last. The former describes the time, in the not too distant , when " antiquities " were the interest of a few queer people— erally regarded as bores and cranks. Though this illusion is dying, not yet quite dead. Those who take part in the larger archæological ursions are sometimes embarrassed to note the keen anticipation ch their arrival in a village provokes—and the intense ill-concealed ppointment when it becomes clear that the performing animals not following ! But the numbers anxious to participate in these ngs, the many excavations undertaken, the admirably edited æological journals and the prominence given to " finds " in the y press show how revolutionary has been the change in public ng in this respect.

How does an archæologist know where to dig ? Accidents of ous kinds may provide helpful indications. Sea-erosion, the struction of a railway, the building of a drain, have exposed or gested the presence of antiquarian remains. Two of the most ous Paleolithic sites in England were revealed through the quarrying chalk. Digging for the fresh-water silt called diatomite in the ey of the Bann brought to light quantities of flint instruments led to an excavation by a Harvard University expedition. During course of this work Neolithic settlements were unearthed. The ning of a lake led to the first great find of Bronze Age objects at gh Gur, Co. Limerick ; but the abundance of prehistoric monuments tered round this lake district would in any case have been sufficient excite archæological curiosity. It was thus inevitable that these s should be further investigated, and fortunate that the task should e fallen to Professor O'Riordan, of University College, Cork, whose l report on the great complex of enclosures, stones, house foundations be awaited with much interest.

What effect has climate on the preservation of materials? Clark points out that hot, moist countries, where insect pests abou offer the very worst conditions. Thus the study of the Maya civilizat in Honduras and Ucatan met with special difficulties; while regi like South India, Indo-China, Malaya, Java and the neighbour islands have been ruthlessly purged of their archæological treasu by tropical rains. In Egypt, on the other hand, where the clim is dry, fragile papyri have been kept safe for two thousand years the conserving sands, and the state of the furnishings, textiles, flow that surrounded Tutakhamen's golden tomb (C. 1354 B.C.) exci universal wonder. In Europe, speaking generally, the qualities climate which make life pleasant accelerate decay and dissoluti But in lakes and bogs conditions are often to be found that fav the survival of highly perishable remains. Thus it is possible to kn with certainty the dress worn by men and women in Denmark 3,(years ago. The women wore close fitting jackets, with sleeves reach to the elbow. Their skirts were sometimes heavy, reaching to ankles and gathered in at the waist by a tasselled belt; sometin light, and extending little below the knee. A woman of this Ea Bronze Age period was found to be wearing a pad under her blon hair, a wig, and a fine hair-net of horse-hair, which gave a style r unlike that to be seen in the streets of our cities to-day.

Chronology in archæology tends to be merely relative and is pressed in terms of cultures rather than in terms of years. In t matter of zoning time, help has been forthcoming from such natu phenomena as the changing of level between land and sea and fluct tions in forest history, shown by the analysis of microscopic poll grains blown into growing bogs from a broad belt of surround country.

If the material remains of ancient culture—the implements, weapo and equipment of daily life—form the backbone of archæology, difficulties in drawing conclusions from these are obviously gre A new excavation often necessitates revised views. How much mu be dug before the evidence on any point can properly be regard as complete? A glance at the world to-day shows how many a how various are the cultures that may co-exist at a given time; a such objects as the motor-car or the petrol-tin warn against the assum tion that a prominent feature in a civilization must be due exclusiv to one people and must be spread throughout the world by that peopl expansion and conquests.

To deduce from archæological remains what the population of country or an area was at a certain period is a problem beset wi pitfalls. Thus Collingwood estimated that the population of Rom Britain was 500,000; Wheeler put the figure at 1,500,000; Mr. Clar

ss is 600,000 or 700,000. Imagination staggers when he carries back to a date in Upper Paleolithic times at which the whole popula- n of Great Britain was 250 !

Attention has already been called to the particular interest of the l section of this book. It deals with the connection between hæology and modern nationalism. Everywhere, from China to u, peoples are trying to show their neighbours what fine fellows ir ancestors were even in the remote past. A hasty remark about nebody's bad habits in Pleistocene times may now lead to inter- ional complications ! In the present state of Europe it is pathetic read of the help given to archæological research by the authorities Poland, Finland, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Baltic States. Norway, eden and Denmark have for long been very active, as well as the ger states, Great Britain, Italy, Soviet Russia and Germany. Maps the expansion of the last-named people, for use in schools, and porate maps of the growth of the Roman Empire, suggest that hæology may be made to serve purposes not wholly theoretical ! re in Ireland, of course, we would never dream of digging for ulterior tives. Yet, strange as it may seem, Mr. Clark gives Éire as the stration nearest to hand of " the alliance of resurgent nationalism prehistoric archæology." Our present government and its pre- essor have financed excavations generously—and not in vain ; for, Mr. Clark judiciously says : " The result of all this official encourage- nt has been a splendid outburst of archæological activity, flattering the prestige of the country in the civilized world at large and, at ne, stimulating those deep-seated feelings of attachment to the ntry's past which make for national unity and heighten the sense national consciousness. It is hardly possible to discuss any major blem of Irish archæology without implicitly demonstrating the ntial unity of the country and emphasizing the artificiality of the tition. The free development of archæological research is the st imaginable propaganda for the liquidation of partition and the achievement of Irish nationality." Here, indeed, is an unexpected to all parties in Dáil and Senate : if they cannot force and may fondle, why not try the effect of the soothing balm of archaeology ?

J. R.

Biography

RQUEMADA : Scourge of the Jews. By Thomas Hope. London : Allen & Unwin. 1939. 8s. 6d.

s short and most readable biography may be fairly described as rilliantly written pamphlet on behalf of the modern persecuted . The parallels between Torquemada's effort to clear Spanish of the Jewish taint and the twentieth-century policy of Hitler his Nazi advisers are most striking ; and Mr. Hope (whose name

is apparently new) points the moral in his preface: "Can we in f happily label Torquemada as a monster and then dismiss him as horror of the dead past? Or is the past never dead? Are its monst still alive?"

Viewed from this angle, the book is a powerful piece of propagan and there are passages which bring home with startling vividness t emotions and reactions of men who have suffered imprisonment a the threat of torture. Here is Mr. Hope's picture of the first stages a cross-examination in the Spanish Inquisition: "The accused w brought before the tribunal, and placed at a table opposite the Inqu tors, and confronted with a large cross. At the end sat a notary w took down every word of the examination. Behind him stood t inquisitorial guards. The Inquisitors fumbled with the docume before them, ignoring his presence and studying the papers on t table, occasionally raising a dubious eye at the prisoner. . . This little piece of play-acting was designed solely to reduce the m to a state of acute apprehension and uncertainty." You will g indications of such procedure in Eymeric's *Directorium Inquisitoru* but the vivid details come, not from Eymeric's fourteenth-centu manual, but from the bitter experiences of twentieth-century interro tions. And there is much more of this kind.

Mr. Hope writes from the worldly, cynical point of view. Torq mada is the sincere, uncompromising fanatic. Sixtus IV, Innocent VI and Alexander VI are the worldly-wise, tolerant, human-mind Popes. Ferdinand and Isabella are the modern, disillusioned, cra and money-seeking rulers of a nationalist state. One brilliant pi of psycho-analysis is attempted in the first chapter. On the authori of one contemporary writer, Torquemada is represented as partly Jewish blood. His fierce, relentless determination to eradicate taint of Jewry from the Spain he loves is the half-conscious impu to escape from a sense of impure origin in his own blood. Torquema becomes the scourge of the Jews in a vain effort to forget his ov half-Jewish ancestry. It is a brilliant interpretation; but the theo rests on the evidence of one writer, Pulgar, who was himself a *conve* and who must have hated Torquemada in every fibre of his bei It is Pulgar who insinuates that the great Dominican friar's unc Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, was of Jewish blood. No oth chronicler makes the statement. Is it anything more than an effo to darken the shadows in a portrait that was already dark enou for men like Pulgar and his friends?

One point is worth noting in this biographical pamphlet. Unli Raphael Sabatini, whose hastily written *Torquemada and the Spani Inquisition* is the most familiar English version of an ancient ta Mr. Hope admits as probable, almost as certain, the substance of t

rges made in the famous La Guardia trial. He accepts the evidence various witnesses as confirming one another, and is prepared to nit here an instance of Jewish ritual murder which could not have ne more aptly for the fulfilment of Torquemada's plans. This nge in front is due largely to the discovery of a whole dossier of hentic documents, which Father Fidel Fita published a quarter a century ago. But Mr. Hope's technique is to admit all that can admitted in favour of Torquemada and his fellow-workers, whose cerity and zeal are never questioned; and then to press home the dly parallel between their programme of action, against which Holy See protested so often in vain, and the more up-to-date gramme of modern governments. A. G.

. *JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.* The Voice of Gold. By Donald Attwater. Milwaukee; Bruce Publishing Company. 1939. $2. (8s. 6d.).

E LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT AS REVEALED IN HIS WORKS. By Sister Margaret Mary Fox, M.A. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1939. $2.

is strange that there should exist so little in the way of literature English for the general reader about St. John Chrysostom. The graphy by Dean Stephens is an Anglican work, dating from 1883 d edition), which has naturally been put to a considerable extent of date by the immense amount of modern research on the Saint his times, as recently summed up in the masterly German monoph of Dom Chrysostom Baur. For Catholic readers, apart from wman's classic sketch, there has been hitherto nothing available ept some very brief popular pamphlets. Mr. Attwater's handnely produced little volume of two hundred pages should thus be ured of a very special welcome. While making no pretence at ginal research or scientific authority, it presents the main facts out the Saint in an interesting, orderly, and remarkably readable y. Mr. Attwater's competence for the work is too well known need any special emphasis. He makes it quite clear that he has e much more than merely condense the results of the labour of ers, showing himself intimate with the Saint's own writings on ry page, and adding greatly to the vividness of his narrative by quent lengthy quotations, especially from the truly amazing corpondence carried on during the years of exile.

St. John's career is well worthy of close study from many aspects. only was he one of the two or three most eloquent preachers of time, a writer of the purest literary Greek with a long and peculiar rned tradition behind him, and one of the revered creators of the utiful Oriental liturgy; he also occupied a unique position in the

Roman world of the fourth century, when Christianity was at its m powerful as a formative element in civilisation, and had just succee in effecting that wonderful blend between its own doctrine and highest achievements of Greek paganism which still remains the b of all Western culture. His personal history is one of heroic virt trained as he was in the most rigorous asceticism of the Desert Fath before entering as guide, teacher, and reformer into the tumultu and variegated life of two great world-cities, and finally subjec to the most intense tribulations whose cause remains to this day larg a painful enigma. Mr. Attwater, while showing the greatest revere for the Saint's pre-eminent virtues, does not omit here and there point to the elements of excess—perhaps lack of caution would b better name—in his castigation of the many personal and social sh comings which it was his mission to chasten and correct. There be no doubt that his own flaming zeal played a part in bringing ab the circumstances which made possible his strange punishment a the death in exile of a virtual martyr. Many readers of this li book will surely be stimulated to seek for themselves further li on such a powerful personality and so dramatic a fate. The o criticism that need be made is that it is not fuller, and that here a there Mr. Attwater's style is marred by slight blemishes, the wo being the phrase " Like He who spoke these words " on p. 119.

Sister Margaret Mary Fox's book is a doctoral dissertation prepa under the highly competent direction of Professors J. M. Camp and Martin R. P. McGuire, and is published as Volume LVII of famous Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, thus roundi off a series which began with Dr. Jacks's monograph on " St. B and Greek Literature " in 1922. In this latest product of a renow seminar the high standard of previous work is admirably maintain and its subject makes the present dissertation more appetising to general reader or the ordinary historical student than, naturally enou has always been the case. Sister Margaret Mary has put toget what is virtually an encyclopedia of social life in the fourth centu not unworthy to rank beside the great work of Dill, to which it for an obvious pendant and the methods of which it successfully follo Like all the studies in the same series, it is distinguished by the co pleteness of its bibliography and the accuracy of its references, a mat of great advantage to its users.

Those who read this work along with Mr. Attwater's will of cou find that the two have a great deal in common. Sister Marga Mary has divided her subject into four main sections, the first be on economic and professional life, the second on social life, the th on political life, and the fourth on Christian society. It is in the l section particularly that the reader will discover much material illust

of St. John's life and work no less than of St. Basil's. Inevitably e is a certain amount of unavoidable repetition, but this is part he virtue of completeness, not a fault. The historical student find much to interest him in his purely secular studies, notably he opening remarks on the climate and geographical conditions of padocia, and in the wealth of information concerning such State itutions as the *cursus publicus*, as well as the relations between Basil and Roman officialdom. One important point, which could e a dissertation to itself, is the influence of the Cynic and Stoic lition not merely on the style but on the content of Christian preach- stressed here and there through the book. M. T.

Celtica

BOR GABÁLA ERENN. The Book of the Taking of Ireland. Part I. Edited and translated with notes, etc., by R. A. Stewart Macalister, D.Litt. Dublin: Published for the Irish Text Society by the Educational Company of Ireland. Pp. XXXIV and 269. 1938. Part II. Dublin. Pp. 273. 1939.

Lebor Gabála Érenn (Book of the Taking of Ireland) is the attempt nediaeval Irish savants to give something like a consecutive account he origins of the Irish people. They thought it better to begin he beginning, so that their record opens with Adam. Then through long ages since the creation of human kind the outstanding events he history of their country are chronicled. Easily the most impor- among these is the conquest of Ireland by the sons of Mil or Mil- ns, the last and ablest colonists, who were reputed to have given country its distinctive culture and its final political form. Their remacy within our island is represented as having taken place re the abduction of Helen to Troy and long before the rise of Rome n its pristine state as an obscure agricultural village.

Thus the Lebor Gabála bears on its visage the lines of hoary anti- y, an impression heightened by its incorporation in such venerable ections as Rawl B. 512, and the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, Lecan Fermoy, not to mention a dozen or more of later manuscripts. closer inspection, however, the illusion of age is seen to result from t may be called literary make-up. Critical theories as to the time s composition emphatically reject an early date. Two Continental lars, Professor Thurneysen of Bonn and Professor Van Hamel of den have distinguished themselves in this field of research. Though r views on the manuscripts differ at many points, they are at one he conclusion that the Lebor Gabála was not to be found in any gnizable shape before the 10th century. Further back than this ancestry is hazy and unsubstantial. Thurneysen, indeed, holds

with a solid measure of probability that its compilation is to be ascr to *literati* of the 12th century, and to a year perhaps as late as 11

That the many problems connected with the Lebor Gabála ma properly discussed it is essential that the Book should be adequa edited. Hitherto no edition worthy of the name has been availa Thanks to Professor Macalister's enterprise, that complaint will cease to be heard, for the edition now in process of publication m every reasonable need with lavish generosity. The redactions of v are being printed in full, the only departure from the order in manuscripts being that the poetry is detached and set at the end of prose in each section. Every care is taken to provide a flawless and an accurate translation; nor are the occasions many when editor in this respect fails to satisfy even fastidious demands. Th are notes in great abundance and variety; and a praiseworthy ef is made to identify sources.

To realise the enormous labour involved in the task of editing is sufficient to read the general introduction. It begins with a deta account of the extant manuscripts. In his study of the relations between these Professor Macalister relies on his own judgment, wh does not coincide with that either of Professor Thurneysen or of P fessor Van Hamel. His scholarly disquisition on this difficult sub is very much to be welcomed. Quite unexpected in a work of kind, but necessary and most interesting, is a technical excursus the Biblical Excerpt in Section I, a special problem treated in a man reminiscent of Westcott and Hoart.

As a record of fact the value of the Lebor Gabála is unfortunat negligible. Over twenty years ago a brilliant colleague of Profes Macalister described its contents in a few devastating sentences. was, he said, "a remarkable product of mediaeval Irish fancy a antiquarian lore of a perverted type. All sorts of native traditi have been worked into it mixed with scraps of mythology, romanc old pedigrees, genuine and forged, legends about the origin of pla names, chapters from the Book of Genesis, fragments from La authors, crazy notions of geography, ethnology, etc., till we fina have what professes to be a history of Ireland from the creation of t world to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Various inconsiste facts were from time to time incorporated in the work, and more less successful attempts were made to harmonize them. The wh thing is an amazing monument of what passed in uncritical ages f sober history." Here, indeed, is a biting summary judgment on t Lebor Gabála, but from it no serious historian is ever likely to dissent

It is, of course, possible to interpret the Lebor Gabála in terms oth than historical. In this field of activity Professor Macalister is seco to none in hardihood. Thus the lady Cessair in Section III is identifi

Ériu and is " undoubtedly the *Magna Mater* of the Irish people." duly accepted, there is no difficulty in explaining the inner signi-ıce of the fifty women who bore her company : " originally they e the mothers of the various nations of the earth." And the whole y can be neatly folded and consigned to a fashionable pigeon-! " There is no room for doubt that the Cessair legend is the ered remnant of a Flood myth such as is told almost universally ughout the world." Similarly the Parthalon legend is " a drastic-artificial elaboration by scholastic pedants of primary folk-tra-ons." Thus " its apparent pointlessness vanishes when we realize in it, also, is the narrative of a fertility-ritual drama," whose ose was " to make certain by magical means that Nature will not in her efforts to secure fertility in the fields, the stalls, the human ies." Into this pleasantly conceived construction the hideous ıoraig of Irish story dovetail gracefully, for they become " the nies with whom the vegetation god has to contend." Da Derga's se, again, ceases to be a vulgar hostelry and rockets into eminence worship-centre, " a sort of pantheon : its numerous ' cubicles ' shrines, each with its idol ; and the quaint creatures seen and ribed by the spy in the service of the raiders were the images which shrines contain." In terms of bed and breakfast the Hostel is sh and absurd, but " so interpreted . . . it immediately assumes mportance for the history of European culture second only to that essed by the painted ' chambers of imagery ' in the Paleolithic s."

t must gratefully be admitted that this wholesale use of modern ientific " theory relieves the tedium of the dull old tales. Among " explanations " again Professor Macalister's are as good as any, none will wish them ill in the inevitable " ritual-combat " with the " interpretations " of to-morrow. J. R.

Classics

ISTORY OF THE DELPHIC ORACLE. By H. W. Parke. Oxford : Blackwell. 1939. 21s. net.

BIGUITY IN GREEK LITERATURE. By W. Bedell Stanford. Oxford : Blackwell. 1939. 10s. 6d. net.

SE two books have a number of things in common. Each is the of a young professor in Trinity College, Dublin ; they have been tifully produced by the same publisher ; and even their subjects inked together by the fact that the Delphic Oracle is nowadays aps best remembered for its notorious ambiguity. Dr. Parke at last produced the definitive history of the Delphic Oracle for h scholars have long been waiting. His work may be said to

carry to completion the fine effort made by another Irishman
than twenty years ago ; for the late Rev. Professor Dempsey of Ga
was only prevented by an early death from fulfilling the promi
his dissertation, published in 1918. The present work owe
impressive appearance of finality chiefly to the fact that it res
large part upon a thorough and systematic historical study of
great scattered mass of extant oracles. These peculiar texts, of
varying origin and value, when sifted and criticised by a hist
of Dr. Parke's training and experience, provide a most reliable
to the enormous archaeological material made available by a w
generation of French excavators.

As remarked in the last chapter of this book, historians have
been led to compare the Delphic Oracle, from the standpoint o
historical influence, with the Papacy. There are in fact some stri
analogies between the two institutions in their positions as direc
centres of great movements of civilisation. But the Oracle, of co
while it did exercise a not inconsiderable influence over the colonisa
by Greek cities of the whole Mediterranean coast, was never by
means as positively and directly active in the development of Helle
as was the Papacy in that of Western Christendom. The really
structive point of the comparison between them is that it goe
emphasise the authority, continuity, clarity and power of the Papa
as it is emphasised, for example, in the later parts of Professor Toyn
Study of History. Nevertheless the Delphic Oracle does repre
as nothing else can, the best that Greek civilisation had to sho
the way of a radiating centre, especially in the period before the Per
Wars. Because of this quality in his subject, Professor Parke's b
gives us a panorama of all Greek history from the earliest times to
Emperor Julian, studied from a vantage-point hitherto inaccessi

After forty-three pages of introduction in which he discusses
origin of the Oracle, its methods and procedure, and the source
its history, Dr. Parke divides the body of his work into two ne
equal parts. The first of these is strictly historical, and studies w
exact and painstaking skill the meaning and application of ev
extant utterance by or reference to Delphi in relation to events
political or semi-political nature. The second is rather cultu
dealing in the same methodical and scientific fashion with the relati
of the Oracle to mythology, religion, morality, and the demands
the private enquirer. Owing to the great variety of the subj
treated and the revelation of the essential Greek character that
variety involves, the book will be found to provide fascinating read
for everyone even distantly interested in Greece. Dr. Parke d
very successfully with the thorny question as to the good faith of
oracle, and comes to the sound conclusion that its long-contin

ess can only have been due to a skilful combination of something to hysteria on the part of the Pythia and management on the of the priesthood. Such a combination, in an ancient traditional ious phenomenon like the Oracle, may very well have rendered evant all accusations of charlatanry, for even the riddling style he responses had itself a religious significance to the pagan mind. ny case we may set aside such explanations as the famous " mephitic our " already suggested in antiquity. Dr. Parke has done a nificent work and has been nobly served by his publisher.

Dr. Stanford's book on Ambiguity is in a sense a continuation of *Greek Metaphor*—an attempt to classify and treat scientifically mportant element in language which has had great influence in ature. The procedure adopted is akin to that of scientific experi- t. It is to apply the categories of ambiguity and amphibology ked out by Aristotle and later rhetorical theorists to the material ented by Greek poetry from Homer to Euripides. Like many n experiments, the attempt was well worth making, even if it does turn out altogether as fruitful as might have been expected. The is that rhetorical canons are only distantly adaptable to the work oets, and Dr. Stanford gets his best results when he abandons totle entirely and explains Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles himself. His conclusion, for instance, that ambiguity is made of more subtly and extensively in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad* ld seem to establish, if well-founded, a rather important critical ciple. One would like to see it further examined; meanwhile it uld be noted, for example, that the list of the Phaeacians in *Odyssey*, I, 111 f, has at least one counterpart in the names of the Nereids iven in *Iliad*, XVIII, 39 f. Probably the most striking thing in Stanford's book, however, is his comparison between the irony Aeschylus and that of Sophocles, and his demonstration of the ion in which Euripides, sometimes in the same brief scene, gets esh and startling effect by combining the two. M. T.

EEK TRAGEDY. A Literary Study. By H. D. F. Kitto. London: Methuen. 1939. 15s. net.

RE has been a great change in the appreciation of Greek tragedy England since the days of Mahaffy and Verrall—a change in part east due to the emergence during the past forty years, for the first in a century or more, of a live English drama. Victorian critics, ng only a decadent theatrical tradition to go upon, were forced ely entirely for their judgment of ancient masterpieces either upon imperfectly-preserved fragments of ancient criticism or upon their often misplaced ingenuity. Other influences, among them the rous scholarship of men like Wilamowitz, have contributed to the

revival of criticism which has undoubtedly taken place, but the liv work of artists like Shaw and Synge, though in an indirect sense, had more to do with it than scholarship. There is nowadays a kee appreciation, especially of Sophocles and Euripides, among a wi public, than at any time for centuries.

The humble student, however, has hardly so far got as much ben from this revival of interest and taste as he is entitled to expect. T has been largely due to the fact that, while there is an abundance excellent interpretative work scattered in learned journals, no has tried to present a comprehensive treatment of the whole subj Mr. Kitto deserves the warmest congratulations both on the boldn of his enterprise and on the brilliance with which he has carried through. He is no beginner at writing : a book in which he set do his impressions of Greece a few years ago received very high pra and his articles, mostly on subjects connected with tragedy, ha always been fresh, keen, and illuminating. The present book, as sub-title indicates, does not profess to be an exhaustive systema treatise. It contains no bibliography and very few notes, and K Kitto shows no excessive admiration for such recent predecessors the same field as Pohlenz and Lesky—indeed he scarcely mentio the latter scholar at all.

That eminent linguist, the late Antoine Meillet, had one criti formula of which he was rather fond : he would sum up the faults some pedestrian monograph by saying that it was " peu personne This is a defect to which, it must be admitted, British scholars a less prone than continental. Very often they tend in the oppos direction, and are apt to be eccentric, whether this eccentricity tak the form of a robust common-sense or of some positive oddity. Witho intending it by any means as a condemnation, one might perha say of Mr. Kitto's book that it is if anything " trop personnel." Th only means, from one point of view, that Mr. Kitto has thought o his subject, from beginning to end, for himself. Furthermore, as h brings to his study of tragedy a lively sense of the theatre and a obviously vivid experience as well as the most absolute honesty, h is saved from serious eccentricity except in so far as he perhaps ten to exaggerate the extent to which he differs from other interpreter

This book can be warmly recommended, not only to classical schola but to all students of literature, as a sound and reliable guide to most important subject which is as interesting to-day as ever it wa It contains no pedantry, and only the barest minimum of indispensab antiquarian lore. Taking each play as a living work of art, Mr. Kitt succeeds in elucidating its meaning and significance so well that the is hardly a page without some new suggestion or fresh illuminatio of an old problem. Perhaps only in one case, that of the *Electra* o

ocles, may he be said to have adopted a view which seriously mis- the play, and here it must be admitted that he has good judges is side. On the whole, his last chapters, in which he discusses he very rightly classifies as the tragi-comedies and melodramas uripides, are the most successful in the book. The couple of pages ie *Phoenissae*, interpreted as a sort of mythical *Cavalcade* (though Kitto does not use this comparison), are an excellent example of owers. He admits himself, both in his preface and throughout ook, that his technique of isolating the purely " dramatic " aspect reek tragedy is to a certain extent one-sided. By pressing this tion too far he not infrequently runs the risk of misleading even lert reader, as when he says that Aeschylus is not propounding a ogical idea in the *Prometheus*, or that the reality from which came *Persae* was not the Persian War but a religious conception suggested . He also seems at times to minimise unduly and unnecessarily mportance of such established details as the fact that the *Hippolytus* e revised edition of an earlier play. It is dangerous in dealing any author, but most of all an ancient Greek one, to stress overmuch purely literary aspect of his work. After all, even Pindar, that poetic of poets, identified his art with wisdom, and Plato, in ing his famous distinction between the poet and the teacher, did part of a plan to reform the poet. If we differ on certain questions inciple from Mr. Kitto, however, this is only a tribute to his success irring up our critical faculties. M. T.

Economics

E ECONOMIC HISTORY OF LIVE STOCK IN IRELAND. By John O'Donovan. Cork : University Press ; Dublin : Talbot Press ; London : Longmans. 1940. 12s. 6d.

ay intelligent student of economic conditions in Ireland to-day reed that the future prosperity of the country is intimately bound ith the progress of the live stock industry. In order that a rising ven a stationary population can be maintained at a reasonably standard of living there must be a large variety of imports of articles which cannot be produced in the country, and these rts can be paid for, in the long run, only by exports. In recent the balance of payments has been kept in equilibrium by many invisible exports which will dwindle in the future, partly as the t of the war and partly as the result of their inherently wasting re. Visible exports will therefore need to be expanded, and, as ossibility of building up an export trade in manufactured goods all, the responsibility for providing the means of paying for our rts will rest in an ever growing degree on the export of agricultural

products. No profitable export trade can be established if the princ of using to the full the comparative advantages of the country ignored, and there is no question that, owing to the soil, climate, of holding and geographical situation in relation to markets, live st and live stock products are the commodities for the production which Ireland enjoys the greatest comparative advantage. I stock are as important in the economic life of Ireland as gold is in t of South Africa, and the more public opinion can be instructed on vital subject the greater is the hope of a sound economic policy lead to an increase of national wealth and welfare.

Hitherto there has been no attempt made to study this great indus on the scale which it deserves. This gap in our economic literat has been most successfully filled by Mr. O'Donovan's comprehens treatise, for the publication of which the Cork University Press to be congratulated. Mr. O'Donovan had a very distinguished ca in University College, Dublin, which led to his being awarded Travelling Studentship in Economics in 1929. During his post gradu study in the College he laid the foundations of the imposing volu which he has now published, and he built on those foundations Oxford, where he studied in the Agricultural Economics Resea Institute, and later in Ireland where he acquired a detailed knowle of the technical and practical problems of the live stock indust Nobody could be better qualified to deal with the numerous aspe of a rather complicated subject and nobody could have done so w more success. The history of the industry from the earliest ti is reviewed in a manner that proves that Mr. O'Donovan is a skil economic historian who is not afraid of the labour involved in ransack old periodicals and out-of-the-way sources in his quest for mate The State schemes for the improvement of Irish live stock since t establishment of the Department of Agriculture are fully describ and, in the period since the Treaty, conditions in the Free State a in Northern Ireland receive equal attention. The abundant statist are skilfully arranged and several very useful maps are includ It is unusual to find the historical, the economic and the techni aspects of a subject so satisfactorily combined as they are in t excellent volume.

Pasture-farming is shown by Mr. O'Donovan to have develop in Ireland as the natural result of the changes in the relative pri of different agricultural products in the nineteenth century combin with the advantages possessed by the country for the production live stock. It was not, he states, artificially induced by the influe of alien government or produced by the absentee landlord syste Nor is it, he argues, necessarily a social evil. The future progress Irish agriculture depends, in his opinion, upon the extension of mix

farming. The all round improvement of the dairy cow should ıe main concern of farmers. " The ideal to be aimed at is an al that yields about 700 gallons of milk, carries natural flesh produces a good calf each year." The dairying industry must elped and encouraged in every possible way, because " the produc- of milk and milk products is still the fulcrum upon which Irish stock production operates and may be regarded, taking the country whole, as the centrepiece of the whole agricultural system in nd." In view of the remarkable inelasticity of the output of agricultural production in recent years, Mr. O'Donovan realizes a great expansion in future will not be secured without difficulty that a change in existing methods of stock feeding, particularly espect of winter feeding, will be necessary. On this, as indeed very other problem connected with our agriculture, Mr. O'Donovan es with the moderation which is the result of wide study and a nced judgment, and his treatise is a contribution of definite value ıe literature of Irish economics. G. O'B.

Education

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Rev. Reginald F. Walker, C.S.Sp., M.A., H. Dip. in Ed. Dublin: M. H. Gill. Pp. 574. 7s. 6d. (cloth). In two parts, limp covers, 3s. 0d. each.

Father Walker's first part, published in 1938, which extended n to A.D. 1417, the second part, including Pope Pius XII addressing seminarists of all Rome on July 12, 1939, was added in the autumn 939. Based mainly on the author's practical plans for uniting rch History with general world history, put to use for several s past with the final classes (16 to 18 years of age) leading to public minations, religious and secular, each summer at Rockwell College, ıer Walker's work is assuredly the best servant of both aspects he historical studies to be done in our Irish and in our Catholic em of general and liberal education. Here will be found a fine osition, for our own and for many other peoples of the Catholic ition living in many lands to-day, of the work of God's One, True, stolic and Roman Church, over the general scope of that Christian ory which integrates and exhibits in action our Christian Philosophy our Divine Religion.

Essential to the full service of such a work for senior secondary ents are a bold and clear plan, an effective presentation both of ain text and of its relevant details. This, and much more of good ring, will be readily noted by the already very numerous readers students of Father Walker's distinguished work. At every stage

they are most effectively aided by cross-references and by va reading-lists. Their content is well within the reach of the libr of even a smaller Catholic secondary school in the Ireland of to-d troubled years, and equally accessible in the younger nations deriv in substantial measure from our mother-stock and race. When say that the publishers have here given us, in excellent craft-fo a two-part working manual that can fitly rank with Archbis Sheehan's two-part treatment of Christian Doctrine and Apologe we have spoken in terms befitting alike these two works and the natio artistic workmanship that has placed them in our hands.

T. Corcoran

CATHOLIC EDUCATION: Vital Problems in the United Sta Edited by Professor R. J. Deferrari. Washington: Catho University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 231. 2 dols. 75 cts.

With the co-operation of thirteen other members of the ordina and of the summer session staff of the Catholic University, Dr. Deferr presents, in most worthy as well as most practical and outspok form, surveys of many salient aspects of Catholic education in t United States—surveyed in papers averaging about 7,000 to 7,5 words each and delivered during the 1939 Summer Session of t University's Golden Jubilee Year. Every student of European educ tion, in its many Catholic aspects, cannot but be entirely appreciati of these tense and pointedly constructive rather than critical appraisa by expert opinion. Addressed to audiences of professional worke in the main, only one further presentation of this vast and most fruitf field of national and Catholic effort might be well wished for by a expectant reader.

Dr. Geoffrey O'Connell leads off with a fine summary, exposi the vast range of non-Christian philosophies of education now widel operating in the 48 American State systems of all schools. He ve fittingly tells us that about a million leaders in the U.S. schools, fro kindergarten to university, having a population of some 30 millio of learners to influence, are now in action. The Catholic forces withi that educable mass are something over 90,000 teachers in 10,300 school with about 2,250,000 pupils under Catholic guidance. A comprehensiv survey of these units of action, suitably classified, would be of grea service within and without the United States. So, too, would b an accompanying supplemental survey of the number of Catholi students who work and learn in the rigidly secular or secularist institu tions of the single States.

The measure of Catholic action, and its quality and processes urgently called for in the 48 States, is obviously the major proble entirely surrounding and compenetrating the regions in which thos

housand Catholic schools provide for (say) one half of the Catholic
ge and care. We may well rejoice that the notable controversies,
383–1895 and later, as to the essential plant of Catholic action
igh education have secured for God's Church within the United
es so sound and so solid a core of force, which should operate
erfully both on Catholic teachers and students in Catholic and
on-Catholic schools, the safe and the unsafe areas of action. Nor
we overlook that still greater problem of Catholic enterprise,
vast series of school systems as yet quite outside the range of
ce of Catholic principles of education and most urgently in need
eir remoulding influence. Of its urgency to a great nation Pope
XII has recently spoken in words of piercing plainness. This
survey, at times severe and even stern in its findings, will find in
very recent Apostolic Message its well-fitted spear-head.

T. CORCORAN

History

HISTORY OF EUROPE, 1715-1814. By W. F. Reddaway. London. Methuen. 16s. net.

ight well seem to many readers that the reaction against purely
ical history and the tendency to concentrate attention rather
he economic and social background has now passed its highest
t, and that we are about to see a revival of merely political interest.
ously enough, the eighteenth century has been less often treated
the sociological point of view than most periods. This book,
fourth to be published in Messrs. Methuen's series of text-books
ring the history of medieval and modern Europe, is a very successful
l of the two modes. It begins with two chapters in which the
ral state, first of England, then of Europe in 1715, is described
goes on to deal with the culture and commerce of the period before
ng to politics. Throughout it emphasises rather the movements
ought and the efforts of diplomacy than the numerous wars which
kened the character of the century. What is left out by way of
antic colour in the description of battles is amply compensated
y a most interesting chapter, the last in the book, which sketches
developments in the art of war from Marshal Saxe to Napoleon.
The difficulty of this method in a work of five hundred pages is
it lends itself to sometimes misleading summaries of complicated
ts in a few epigrammatic sentences. Mr. Reddaway has the merit
eing extremely fair as well as impartial in his interests ; he can
e the vicissitudes of the Jesuits as well as the growth of the Free-
ons and the Rosicrucians, and do justice to the Jansenists as well
o the Methodists. Perhaps at times the undoubted progress that
ked the century in material things leads him to see too much

advance also in fields where there was rather decline. Indeed reader may sometimes feel that his manner is too detached, and the remoteness from his standpoint of much in the eighteenth cen is due rather to his being a Cambridge don than to his moder For example, there are many people still extant to whom the condi of the eighteenth-century peasantry, with its home-made tal truckle-beds, and rude chests, is not so strange as it appears to h When he descants on the queer fact that nearly everyone in that believed in eternal punishment, he is marvelling at something t progress has not yet altogether abolished. Indeed it would ha be a wild exaggeration to say that the troubles of present-day Eur spring very largely from its division between those who believe in and those who are turning this world into one because they wan make it a heaven.

These criticisms, however, should not be taken as detracting fr the value of the book, which does succeed in showing that the eightee century was neither as enlightened as it thought itself nor as benigh as many think it still. As Mr. Reddaway truly says, Europe was t a real society, and the extreme class distinctions, the frequent cruelt the general poverty which characterised it cannot entirely bala the artistic taste, the elegance, and the intelligence in which it after all superior to the nineteenth. A pleasing feature of the bo besides its interest in the lives of the masses, is its emphasis on doings of the leading characters. It is a crowded gallery of stra portraits—Alberoni, Ripperda, Saxe, Struensee, Kaunitz, and ma others—and might well supply fresh inspiration to the seeker af subjects for bright biographies. The bibliographies which follow e chapter are excellent and can only be criticised for not always giv the dates of the books named, and there is a good supply of maps T

A MAP OF OLD ENGLISH MONASTERIES, and rela Ecclesiastical Foundations. A.D. 400—1066. By Alice M. Ry New York: Cornell University Press. London: Oxford Univ sity Press. 1939. Pp. 33. 4s. 6d. nett.

THIS is number 28 of a series of studies carried out by students under t direction of the Professor of English in Cornell University. Miss Ry set herself the task of listing the various ecclesiastical foundations Anglo-Saxon England from the foundation of the Candida Casa Gallowey to the coming of the Normans. Thanks to a scholarsh she was able to spend the greater part of a year in England, studying the British Museum and seeing something of the ancient sites. It to be regretted that her stay in that country was not longer. Wi true American energy and diligence she made, however, the most

time. Her collection includes monasteries and convents, with dependent cells, episcopal sees, minsters, hermitages, crosses, and " places with ecclesiastical association." All these are indicated ymbols on a fairly large map, based on the recent Ordnance Survey *of Britain in the Dark Ages.* In the Index the old and modern es of each site are given, with a description of the institution, the itial dates, and a reference to Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum.* for Cornwall and that part of northern England evangelized by Irish Mission from Iona, the churches founded by the Celtic peoples ritain find the barest mention. Miss Ryan, of course, is well aware is and promises to remedy it, if possible, some day. It is to be d that the war in Europe will cause a mere postponement of the ect, not its abandonment. J. R.

TOIRE DE L'EGLISE. Tome I: L'Antiquité Chrétienne. 1928. Tome II: Le Haut Moyen Age. 1936. Par A.-M. Jacquin. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 35 fr. each.

first volume of this important work by the Professor of Ecclesias- History at Fribourg deals with the history of the Church to the ncil of Chalcedon in 451, thus covering more ground than the two mes of MM. Lebreton and Zeiller, which have since been published. le less exhaustive in scope and method, it is admirably suited both the educated layman and the student, who are much better served his respect in France than in English-speaking countries. Fr. quin is an experienced teacher and knows thoroughly how to make subject interesting. His work covers every aspect of the life of Church, and his chapters on ritual, religious education, and institu- s will be found especially valuable. While the reader will not look uch a work for a detailed examination of very intricate problems n as the revolution effected by Constantine the Great, he will find ndant aid to further study in the shape of carefully-chosen biblio- phies, as well as plentiful quotation of authorities in the text; and ain highly important questions, such as the work and martyrdom t. Peter in Rome, are discussed at length in the light of the most dern research.

The second volume, published some eight years later, will be equally comed with the first. It contains probably the best and fullest nt account, for example, of the relations between Pope Vigilius and tinian. But its especial interest lies in its admirably full treatment wo highly important subjects: early monasticism and the conversion he barbarians. It is based here again on the best authorities, and account of the Irish missions, which draws on the work of Frs. gaud and Ryan, is unusually complete—though, curiously enough, Patrick himself is passed over with only an incidental mention.

This volume ends with the iconoclast heresy and the events prece the coming of Charlemagne. Both volumes have the usual Fr defect of misprints in the spelling of foreign names, but they have unusual merit of possessing good indexes. M.

Anglo-Irish Literature

THE IRISH THEATRE. Edited by Lennox Robinson. Macmi 1940. Pp. 229. 7s. 6d.

KILLYCREGGS IN TWILIGHT AND OTHER PLAYS. Lennox Robinson. London: Macmillan; Dublin: Brown Nolan. 1939. Pp. 290. 7s. 6d.

THREE PLAYS. By Teresa Deevy. Macmillan. 1939. Pp. 7s. 6d.

THE STAR TURNS RED. By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. 19 Pp. 184. 7s. 6d.

The Irish Theatre is the publication of the lectures given during Abbey Dramatic Festival in 1938. The most useful thing in the b is, I think, Mr. T. C. Murray's account of George Shiels and Brins MacNamara. Both had produced work sufficient in quantity a value to call for critical assessment, and Mr. Murray does the job w adding pleasant personal sketches of these authors. The lectu on the earlier and often treated names of the Abbey are either somew colourless (like the late A. E. Malone's account of the rise of Realism but his review of the early history of the theatre is good) or else so what irresponsible. Mr. F. O'Connor on Synge is abrupt, bol right in many places; and his lecture must have been a good o though as an essay it does not always quite interpret itself. Mr. Higg on Yeats and Poetic Drama has some excellent defining phrases the tones of Yeats's poetry. But he is provokingly wild about litera history, about the present alleged decay of our literature, about Patrick, and about the bourgeois. Indeed, he and Mr. O'Connor a desperately class-conscious in their criticism. They seem to thi that mediocrity of standing condemns people to mediocrity of eve sort. But poets have a way of coming from the middle classes. A cannot they disabuse themselves of the notion that middle-class l is poor in the comic and the tragic by going to one of Mr. Robinso comedies in their own theatre or to Mr. MacNamara's *Margaret Gilla* a tragedy of those who " fumble in a greasy till ? " This sort of sno bery is one of the real dangers to our literature. Professor Stark writes on O'Casey, Mr. Robinson on Lady Gregory, Mr. Blythe giv a sensible and useful account of Gaelic Drama, and Mr. MacLiamm is lively and pleasant on Problem Plays.

Turning from the Abbey's past to its present, we hail some furth

s of Mr. Robinson's happy industry (*Killycreggs in Twilight*, *Is Worth Living?* and *Bird's Nest*). He is the most prolific of our natists, and yet his plays, for all their family resemblance, never ly repeat one another; his store of knowledge about Irish society o rich, his watch on its changes too close to allow that. *Killy-s* is a sort of answer to his own *Big House*. To see or to read, these s have the tonic value of an optimism that is not mawkish, and implications of kindly criticism teach us all sorts of salutary ns. Plot, characterisation, dialogue are here managed with ease grace, the art that has learnt to conceal itself perfectly.

'wo good dramatists have begun writing for the Abbey lately, Miss Deevy is one of them. Her special excellence is in character-on, particularly of her heroines, types new to the Abbey stage convincing. Perhaps she yields too much to their complexity; *um et mutabile semper femina*, no doubt, but it is a pity when too ike caprice is allowed to disperse the plot, and in the long run it ages even the life-likeness. The two longer plays both begin a sense of mass and simplicity, which is rather frittered away re the end in changes of mind and over frequent comings-in and gs-out. In *Katie Roche* the heroine, of mysterious birth and not e fit either for the convent or her peasant admirer or her mistress's ner, is really interesting, at first anyhow; excellently done too ner mistress Amelia Gregg, an almost old maid and a very gentle ure, and Amelia's architect brother who marries the difficult e. A weakness of this play is an incredible "Holy Man" wander-he country and always appearing at the right moment to warn, mfort and command, who turns out to be the conscience-banished leman seducer of Katie's mother. *The Wild Goose* is set con-ingly enough in the Ireland of 1692, and has good characterisation tense moments, though I think it tails off more than *Katie Roche*. *King of Spain's Daughter* is the one-act taming (perhaps) of one liss Deevy's temperamental shrews. Miss Deevy's dialogue is , soundly based on a variety of Southern dialect which is new, I x, to the Abbey.

Ir. O'Casey, alas, has forsaken drama for communist propaganda ne stage. A capital city, which is vaguely Dublin because when-the characters have a touch of nature in manner and speech are Dubliners, is shown apprehensive and expectant on Christmas Saffron-shirted Fascists are preparing to crush the workers, the Red Priest of the Politicians, confraternity-men and a gombeen lle class are ready to assist; but the militant Workers rise gloriously liquidate them all, the Christmas star turning Red to the music of Internationale. Suffering and charity and other corrupt and less things are banished from the earth, and with them, though

Mr. O'Casey does not realize it, humanity goes—and drama Patches of poetry talk in the manner of Synge, Eliot, or the Autho Version do not at all enliven the dead robotism. Perhaps this may undeceive Mr. O'Casey about shirts and fronts and send again to the heart of humanity, from which he once knew how to real drama. J. J.

THE STAGE IRISHMAN. A History of the Irish Play and Characters from the Earliest Times. By G. C. Duggan, M.A. Dub Talbot Press. 1937. 15s. net.

A BETTER title for this book would have been "The Irishman on Stage." The expression "stage Irishman" has become intima linked, in our minds, with caricatures. There are certainly such fig in Mr. Duggan's work, but they are not in the majority and ap chiefly in the later pages.

In the earlier chapters an account is given of a number of pl of which even the names are now forgotten, which deal with person and events in Irish history. Some of these are contemporary or ne so with the events described, and should constitute a valuable little-explored source of information for historians. This is notably case with *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, whose hero is the well-kn Elizabethan adventurer and in which Shane O'Neill appears; *The Royal Voyage* and *The Royal Flight*, both by unknown aut and both dealing with the Williamite wars; but most notably o with the *Ireland Preserved* of Colonel John Michelburne, the b defender of Derry.

Another class of plays treat of past history, and their chief inte lies in the fact that they show us what the men of the seventee or the eighteenth centuries thought and knew, or imagined that t knew, about Celtic, Norman or Tudor Ireland.

Mr. Duggan praises some of these plays, but neither the anal nor the quotations which he gives would lead us to conclude that t plots were particularly well constructed or their poetic merit remarka

"The Plays of Dublin Society," which are treated of in the fou chapter, were written almost without exception in the later seventee or in the eighteenth centuries. They are, as one would expect, v artificial; and the ladies and gentlemen portrayed, even when scene is laid in Ireland, differ scarcely at all from those who figu on the London stage of the same period. The servants, howe introduced a feature of difference. Most of them are obviously inten to be native Irish speakers who, in many cases, still think in Gae so that their strange halting English is the result of a sort of me translation, and is often interspersed with actual Irish words or phra It is likely that, in the period before "the Irish brogue" of the st

ne standardized into something unreal and absurd, this represented
tual transcript of the "Irish-English" of the poorer classes of
ay; if so, it would be well worth the attention of philologists
sted in dialects.

n some of these plays we are introduced to characters, usually ladies,
e like, unfortunately, are still to be found in our midst or across
hannel. These are persons of Irish birth who sneer at and despise
own country and whose ambition it is to be "*Angliores ipsis*
is." Such a one is the Mrs. Diggerty (her real name is O'Dogherty)
harles Macklen's *True Born Irishman*, of whom it is said: "The
a thing in this poor country but what gives her the spleen or
vapours. Then such a frenzy of admiration for everything in
and! She has brought over a new language with her, a new
of Irish-English." A similar character is the fop Vaerily, in *St.*
en's Green, by William Phillips (1700), who has his clothes made
ndon and sent him by express post.

ne of the most prolific of the Irish playwriters was John O'Keeffe,
flourished in the late eighteenth century and with whom the real
ge Irishman" seems to have originated. It is significant that his
s were more highly thought of and more often produced in America
in England than in his own country.

n the second part of his book our author deals repeatedly with
us types of Irish character as presented on the stage. Thus we
"the Irish Soldier and Gentleman of Fortune," "the Irish
r," "the Irish Priest," "the Irish Serving-man," etc. The first
the last of these are the most numerous and the most interesting.
he soldier, the Sir Lucius O'Trigger who appears in Sheridan's
ls is, of course, the best example. All the personages of this class
boastful, though almost always really courageous; hot-tempered,
avagant, lovers of gambling and of wine, apt to perpetrate "bulls"
peech and jealous of the honour of a country which some of them
never actually seen. Of the Irish servant something has already
said. He seems to have been the first to degenerate into stage-
manishness—descending to the lowest depths of its degradation.

t is to be hoped that this book will find many readers, both for
uction and for entertainment. In a second edition a few small
rical blunders might be avoided. Some of them may be briefly
cated:—Hugh O'Neill was not the son but the nephew of Shane
e 57); Col. Preston was the uncle not the brother of Lord Gormans-
n (page 65); Count d'Avaux, who accompanied James II to Ireland,
o as a diplomat—he had no military office (page 81); Mrs. Jordan
not the morganatic wife of the Duke of Clarence, nor any wife
l—morganatic marriage does not exist in English law (page 180).

We are told (p. 65) that "Hugh O'Neill visited the Maiden Q court in state and conversed with her on high political matter he was in fact looked on in much the same light as was the Red I Princess Pocahontas of Virginia when she visited England two cen later." Here it is evidently not Hugh but Shane O'Neill who is m Hugh O'Neill spent most of his life, probably till over thirty ye age, in England, and was, we are told, well liked at Elizabeth's and a favourite of the Queen herself. M. T.

TIME'S WALL ASUNDER. By Robert Farren. London : She Ward. 1939. 3s. 6d.

I LIKE Robert Farren's tearing asunder of the Wall of Time. metaphysical poetry shorn of "conceit"—baroque shorn of gorgeousness and with the essentials left. It is "Strict Joy," to b a title from James Stephens, whom I am glad to see Mr. Farren l A line from the poem to Stephens in the first section of the vo gives the book its title. If I favoured the genealogical tree me as an approach to poets and their poetry—which I do not—I sh name Mr. Farren lineal descendant of Donne, Crashaw, Her Francis Thompson and others. But that would be to lay too n stress on content, and perhaps intent, and too little on indivi experience, on personal shaping of thought and emotion unti three mysteriously take form in the fire of the poet's spirit. would be fool enough to explain the genesis of poetry ? Who ou of school wants it explained ? That poetry itself should be stu and felt is the day's need.

Mr. Farren is no stranger to an Irish public. As Riobard O F cháin he has Gael as well as Gall background—is scholar and c as well as creator. One could go outside English traditions and him companions in the Gallic world—in men like Maritain and Pé and Léon Bloy. We can do with him in Éire ; the intellectual-religi string is one that might well be more often struck in our native h Mr. Farren will probably make a "school." Is it too much hope ?

I have spoken of the poet's pedigree. But Mr. Farren is "mod school" in his technique. The economy of language ; the auste of line and phrase ; the syncopation ; the stab and thrust the short verse-unit ; the swiftness of touch ; the disdain of rhetorical ; the almost childish rhythms of the "A is for Apple" c (for instance in "Miracles)" ; the omission of such apparent essenti as antecedents to a relative—all proclaim Mr. Farren the son of age. His language too is far from being baroque ; though his dou or linked adjectives are often used to produce—like the Baro poets—chorded music. Some of his themes would please the m

ss among the poets of the everyday—"Holiday Pest," for ple, with its end lines:

kid, car, kid, car
car kid, car kid, kid

h the fertility of the rhymes in the body of this trifle recalls an in some of his humoresques. That great rhymer and juggler words is also revived in "The Liberal," "Anti-Anacreontic," New Muses," "Poet's Curse" and "The Craft of Literary ersation."

admire the verbal feats implied in Part IV of the book; but ld willingly give them all for any one poem in Sections I, II, III. that I should particularly like to recommend, where everything thy of attention, are: *God Conquered*, because it compels thought because of its unexpected conclusion, almost resembling a Heine nte"; *Vocation* for its energy of symbolism and an emotion is almost spiritual passion; *Being*, despite its—to my ear—hythmical harsh lines—"to-be than be-man | to-be man more | more-to-be-man" | —lines which no one could convince me are ied by any canon of poetry; *Where is an Eye, is Beauty* (a lovely perfect in its rhythmical proportion)—*Rich Morning*, which t have been the vision of a child, so fresh it is:

"I did not hear
What water said,
And air held peace
Spring on her breast."

mn Afternoon, with its intimacy of language, its faculty of r observation and its Dublin atmosphere; *Stable Straw, Mary, ge*—perfect religious poetry with a certain singing quality which cking in the other poems. "Reason speaks, love sings" Mr. n once himself reminded us. It is so here, surely. *Witness* is Farren's "Hound of Heaven," powerfully conceived, austerely ted, harsh in the manner of our harsh century—and interes-

Robert Farren wrote all these, no one but O Faracháin could produced *The Beginning of Books, Angels question the Monks of , After Priesting, The Saint and the Sword, Raftery's Repentance, d into Lover, Folk Song in a Drawing Room.* They are Gaelic ntent, intent and tradition, and should, I imagine, be full of interest tudents of Irish. One feels that the poet is here drawing from exhaustible well—dark and light, sun and shadow, depth and ess. I was interested to note the pruning that Robert Farren

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did for his publisher in the Raftery poem and in " Friend into Lc
both of which he had contributed to the *Irish Monthly* in the Dece
of 1938. In both cases I prefer the earlier versions, but particu
so in Raftery, shortened by a stanza in the book form.

I look forward to Mr. Farren's Columcille sequence and to a qui
ing through his work of the religious-intellectual in Anglo-Iris
Irish verse.

MARY M. MACK

EARTH OUT OF EARTH. By Daniel Corkery. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1939. 5s. net.

THE short story in literature is at once old and new. It is strict
the rules for which have been laid down time and again by the
and craftsman. Yet its range of subject is wide, and only the techn
is strictly prescribed. The choice of episode is important.
must be simple, yet striking. The characters are usually " set," t
being neither time nor scope for evolution. The action must be q
and the *dénouement* must hold within it something of surprise, of
strange or unexpected to thrill or delight. The utmost concentra
of thought and language is implied; imaginative powers of vi
and expression must arrest and maintain the attention. The w
form should have a swiftness and a jewel-like brightness which
it almost the appeal of a poem.

Of the short stories Corkery presents in *Earth out of Earth,* n
belong to the domain of regional art. The region chosen is the writ
native Munster; the characters are mainly though not exclusi
peasant. No praise could be too high for the sureness born of insi
with which character and milieu are sketched in in the opening
" Vision " with its centre figure, the farmer's little son, between
father whom he worshipped and the irritable all-too-practical mot
at whose words his universe falls to pieces. " As Benefits Forg
is a satisfying telling of a story I had myself heard in Iveleary c
farm-servant sent to the poor-house by the family whom he had ser
for fifty years. " Understanding " has the motif of the retur
American bringing his dreams back with him and finding at hom
new race with different ideas—a discovery that helps him to unc
stand what had divided him from his girl wife whose grave he
left behind in America. A few of the stories—" There's your Se
" Death of the Runner "—belong to the strange elemental tales t
we associate with Corkery's earlier manner. A certain magi
atmosphere that is of the romantic rather than of the realist tradit
distinguishes them from the other stories in this volume. " T
Lilac Tree," " God forgive us all " are studies of Cork city which mi
have been written to point a contrast in motif and manner with

mporary short story writer like Frank O'Connor. There is in ry nothing of the picaresque—no proletarian vie-de-Bohème. ypes are selected as one would expect from the author of " Synge Anglo-Irish Literature." That they have vraisemblance goes ut saying, and their speech, if restrained and even sober, is true ter English.

ne book is excellently produced by the publishers. The jacket, its vision of sky barred by luminous clouds and of mountains against the setting sun, has a fitting symbolism—" Earth out of is wonderfully wrought." MARY M. MACKEN

TERATURE IRLANDAISE CONTEMPORAINE. By A. Rivoallan. Paris : Hachette. 1939. Pp. 202.

RIVOALLAN knows us and our literature as few foreigners can, even few Englishmen. There is something almost uncanny about ccuracy with which our small world is mirrored in the universality s French phrases. He sets down how conveniently the Abbey tre is situated, and how excellent are the relations between it he Gate ; he can tell you what is wrong with Kiltartanese, that haracteristic of the Gaeltacht is *L'enthousiasme verbal*, and what nbeen man is ; he can speak familiarly of the Gúm, and say who knows Irish and who not (*P. Colum sait le gaélique*) ; he can you a brief and exact appreciation of the work of An Seabhac *pervier*) and of the Gaelic poems of Dr. Bergin (*vrai poète celui-ci, e s'il ne se risque pas toujours jusqu'à cette exubérance qui est à la le danger et la joie du parler gaeltacht*). He knows the serious and c importance of Cork (*ce Marseille du Munster, avec son accent tant et sa verve gouailleuse*). Of course he does make an occasional as when he says that eldest sons always inherit Irish farms, and butes Dr. Bergin *à la maison rivale.*

I. Rivoallan takes in all Irish literature from about 1890, includ- treatment (briefer of course) of Gaelic ; he deprecates and refuses ccept the narrow definitions of an Irish writer some of ourselves made. He gives a careful, well-balanced account of the whole, n to (and including, not merely naming) Mr. Devlin in verse, Mr. aolain and Mr. Joseph O'Neill in the novel, Miss Deevy in drama. detachment and his French background and style enable him merely to inform French readers but to instruct us also ; I think pages on Synge and on Joyce are examples of this.

t is a pity that there are almost no bibliographical notes. From Irish reader's point of view, reference to many good articles that appeared on Irish subjects in French periodicals would have very welcome. J. J. H.

French and German Literature

MANUEL DE LA LITTERATURE CATHOLIQUE EN FRA
DE 1870 *A NOS JOURS.* New edition revised and re
Paris: Éditions Spes. 1939. Pp. 493. 25 fr.

CATHOLIC LITERARY FRANCE FROM VERLAINE
THE PRESENT TIME. By Sister Jerome Keeler, O.
Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938. Pp. 268. $2.75.

ANTHOLOGIE DE LA RENAISSANCE CATHOLIQUE.
Louis Chaigne. Tome 1— Poètes, Tome 2—Prosateurs, Tome
Prosateurs (2e Série). "Alsatia." 1936-1939. 25 fr. ea

LE PROBLEME RELIGIEUX ET L'HISTOIRE DE
LITTERATURE FRANCAISE. Par Victor Giraud. Pa
"Alsatia." 1938. Pp. 236. 25 fr.

LE RENOUVEAU MARIAL DANS LA LITTERATU
FRANCAISE depuis Chateaubriand jusqu'à nos jours.
Soeur Paul-Emile. Paris: Spes. 1936. Pp. 259. 18 fr.

TAKEN together the works whose titles are listed above provide general reader with a fairly complete conspectus of contempor French Catholic literature.

The Manual was first published in 1925, with a long introduct by the late Abbé Henri Bremond. Since then four of the origi collaborators have died. Three others found themselves unable collaborate in the new edition. Indeed this is not so much a r edition as a new work by new authors, though on the same gene lines as the old. The book is in ten divisions by as many differ writers—poetry, drama, cinema and radio, fiction, history, critici journalism, oratory, philosophy, and religious works. To the histor section alone some 130 pages are devoted. The fourteen years t have elapsed since the first edition have permitted the editor r only to revise his work by repairing omissions and correcting erro but also to cover a new period and one of great literary activity. this edition at least the aim seems clearly to be inclusiveness. Ev the first edition dealt with 1,500 writers—the number dealt with in t is very much larger. Indeed the wealth of modern French Catho literature is amazing. A thoroughly serviceable manual with a go index for quick reference.

Despite the similarity of title, Sister Jerome Keeler's book is wholly different lines. Fourteen leading figures of the Catholic litera revival from Verlaine to Ghéon are selected, and a chapter is devot to each. A brief preliminary chapter surveys the field, and a Pos script draws some general conclusions. This plan makes for a mo readable work than the Manual. In addition the book is pleasant written. But these are not the Author's only merits. Her readi

een very wide, her work is critical and discriminating, and it is ighly documented. Valuable bibliographies are supplied.

. Chaigne's three volume anthology is an excellent selection of cant passages in prose and verse from the best Catholic writers : Revival. But it is something more. In the case of each author d the editor has provided a critical appreciation, a biographical and an ample bibliography. He has even added portraits and raphs. He deals in this way with no less than eighty poets and l larger number of prose writers. At the end of each volume is a long list of authors whom the editor was obliged to omit 'ant of space. An alphabetical index would add considerably e usefulness of these volumes.

ıe fourth work on our list provides what the others do not give—*ıovement* of Catholic literature, seen against a background of other ments and of literature of a very different stamp. Moreover iraud shows how throughout French literature writers even the alien to Christianity have been haunted by the ideas of religion. ok remarkable for its author's thorough grasp of his subject in s aspects.

ot long ago we had from the pen of Mrs. Concannon an historical ınt, under the title *The Queen of Ireland*, of devotion to the Blessed n in our country. *Le Renouveau marial* does something similar rance. But, apart from the introduction which is a retrospective e over the history of previous centuries, only the nineteenth and tieth centuries are covered by Sister Paul-Emile's study. It is dy of our Lady's place in modern French *Belles Lettres*. All the rs studied are laymen and women : first the prose writers—the Chateaubriand, Louis Veuillot, and some others little known de of France ; then the poets (a much larger group)—sparse ings from the romantics, parnassians, and symbolists, then a rich est from Paul Claudel, Louis Mercier, Francis Jammes, Charles y, Maric Noël, and several other poets of the twentieth century. mpetent and excellent piece of work, though the author is very st about it. Soeur Paul-Emile is a Canadian nun of the Grey rs. She is also a Doctor of Literature. Her book has been crowned ıe French Academy. S. J. B.

)ERN GERMAN LITERATURE, 1880–1938. By Jethro Bithell. London : Methuen. 1939. 18s.

Jethro Bithell, Head of the German Department at Birkbeck ge, is well known to students of German. As for back as 1909 id us under an obligation by (amongst other things) a volume rse translations of mediaeval German poems—*The Minnesingers*. as a book which placed beyond the reach of doubt not only the

author's critical knowledge of mediaeval German, but also his p to utilise the resources of English poetry so that the English might not detract from the rich middle high German content few years ago Messrs. Methuen published Mr. Bithell's *Germa A Companion to German Studies*. Out of a chapter in that de with German literature after 1880 the work now before us has gr The extent of the growth will be appreciated when the reader le that the present volume counts 500 pages, not including fiftee bibliography, to cover fifty-eight years of a country's lite output! It can well be imagined that the work is encyclopa in character. Much of it is difficult to classify and still more diff to appreciate. I, for one, could wish that Mr. Bithell had consi many of the writers dealt with and the works so painstakingly may I say, often so painfully summarized to the forgetfulness deserve and which many of them have already found.

History of literature is a subject the handling of which constit a problem for teacher and writer. Its methodology has often discussed. Is it to be a history of ideas and of the movements w are their vehicle—of motifs and matter, of literary personalities, lite forms, literary influences? Mr. Bithell has got out of the diffic of choice by opting for some of each! He has given us chapters naturalism, impressionism, neo-romanticism, expressionism and classicism, as well as a chapter on the literature of Race and These alternate with studies of drama, novel and lyric, relieved b record of women writers, a study of war literature and chapters humorists, satanists, "cosmic impressionists" and "epic infiniti The result is not only over-crowding but confusion. There is a l of uniform development. The study of the various movements is crammed with detail—frequently irrelevant—that one gets no c perspective and rarely any hierarchy of values, except in the analyses of outstanding figures like Rilke, Hofmannsthal, Thor Mann, Stefan George, etc. There Mr. Bithell is at his best. study of poetic thought and poetic form saves him from those err of taste and style, those nauseating and surely irrelevant details physical and sexual idiosyncrasies which obtrude themselves so p sistently in other parts of the book. I cannot think, too, that anyth is gained by quarter or half page summaries of themes and moti of plays and novels with which the reader is never likely to ma first-hand acquaintance. If he can go to the original, the summa is not necessary. If he cannot, it is useless. The historian of literatu in this case Mr. Bithell, is not helping him by such a summary penetrate the mystery of matter clothing itself in poetic form—whi is all that matters in the study of an individual poet or his work.

In a survey of literature which gives so many names it is unf

pect that the balance should always be kept. But where a chapter been devoted to women writers, it would be only reasonable to ct that more space should be assigned to one of the outstanding es of the last fifteen years : Gertrud von Le Fort. Her historical ls would well repay analysis, whilst her deeply philosophical y of the position of woman in *Die ewige Frau* (1934) would offer lcome relief to much that Mr. Bithell has expatiated upon in the s of his book. Gertrud von Le Fort is one of the clearest religious- osophical thinkers of the present day in Germany, and a rarely ic mind is one of her gifts. Her *Hymnen an Deutschland* and *nen an die Kirche* should commend themselves to Mr. Bithell translation.

I could not help thinking, as I read Mr. Bithell, that his task was l. His theme was " Modernität " (modernity)—Nietzsche's analysis hich in *Der Wille zur Macht* sums up : Over-development of " inter- liate forms " ; decay of types ; breaking down of traditions ; pre- inance of the instincts following upon a weakening of the will . . . evalence of the broker and go-between in the intellectual domain . the go-between between the natural sciences and philosophy ; semi-theologian ! That was what Nietzsche saw in modern " un- thy " Europe, and its reflection in Germany in the years following) was not essentially different. It is well that Mr. Bithell had s Carossa, Rilke and others to help him through his task. But a pity that his method did not allow him to follow up the thought ome who have an equal claim with many to whom he gave the dom of his pages. Time will no doubt bring an adjustment of es.

MARY M. MACKEN

Politics

R DEMOCRACY. Edited by the " People and Freedom " Group London : Burns Oates. 1939. 8s. 6d. net.

LITICS AND MORALITY. By Luigi Sturzo. Burns Oates. 1939. 7s. 6d.

s not surprising that at the present time books on political subjects und. Our minds are only too much alert to such problems. The books with which this review deals say in a compendious way at can be said in favour of democracy. Neither of them is a con- ous discussion. But the subject-matter is a sufficient link and reader will find much, if no very original, information on problems ich now agitate all our minds. Christianity is tied to no political tem. It is tolerant of any form of state which aims at the general d. The reason of this is obvious enough. The Christian Church, the course of its long history, has encountered all kinds of political anisation. Of these democracy has been, perhaps, the rarest.

Its appearances have been sporadic and for the most part short-l From history, therefore, we can learn very little about it.

In the ancient world democracy can scarcely be said to have ex except as an element in a wider system obviously undemocratic. Athenian State was, for a brief period, an aristocracy of free cit resting on a basis of slavery. The medieval city-states rapidly p into tyrannies. England in the eighteenth century, at a time foreign observers like Montesquieu thought of it as a democ was in reality an aristocratic system with a slight democratic infu It continued to be an aristocratic system in the nineteenth cen The extension of the franchise in the Reform Bill of 1832 introd no essential change. Further extensions in the sixties and eig left the system in its concrete functioning aristocratic. Many poli theorists were of opinion that universal suffrage was incompa with freedom and that the British system could not survive its i duction. This seems to set the problem of the future. Ca democratic state based on universal suffrage escape the obvious da of passing over into some form of totalitarianism, fascist or c munist ?

In its theoretical basis totalitarianism is opposed to Christian The idea that the state is the whole, that it includes within its s all forms of activity, clearly leaves no room for the free functio of individual or family rights. Ultimately, too, it abolishes the free of religion. In the actual functioning of the state this philoso may remain inactive, and the state, as seems to be the case in It may accommodate itself to other rights and to the freedom of Church. But what distinguishes the modern autocratic state f the earlier historical autocracies is its pervasiveness. This is price we pay for the advances of the mechanical age. There is longer any escape from the universal attentions of governments. exclusive life of the individual—the life he wishes to live in his isolatio has become with time narrower and narrower. The state purs him to his last retreats. Democracy does this too much. But i because it does it less than modern autocracies that it must se superior to the thinking man. Some of the free winds of liberty a of the critical spirit still blow within its confines.

There is little sense in trying to establish any intrinsic superio in democracy. States must be judged in the concrete by the k of life they enable the individual to live. The standard of critici is the essential dignity of the individual man and the respect p to his natural rights. The attack on natural rights in the eighteen century marks the beginning of an inevitable decline. Worki within an acknowledged Christian scheme of society, monarchies a aristocracies have frequently realised the concrete freedom of individu

y and religious life much more perfectly than democracies. In ern times democracies allied with liberalistic philosophies of life violently outraged fundamental rights. The only freedom they prepared to recognise was freedom to accept what happened e the dominant ideology of the moment. Not unfrequently the of democratic oppression has driven men to seek safety in autocratic ms which, at the worst, seemed less objectionable. They hoped is way to preserve the dignities of individual right and some of inheritance of tradition.

n our present state of culture the only valid defence of democracy—no doubt such a defence is possible—is that it holds out a better than rival systems of preserving the ultimate historical values hristian Civilisation. D. O'K.

Science and Philosophy

YSICO-CHEMICAL METHODS. By Prof. J. Reilly and Prof. W. N. Rae. Third edition. 2 vols. Price (2 vols.) £4 4s. London: Methuen. 1940. Pages 686+580.

N the first edition of *Physico-Chemical Methods* appeared fourteen s ago, its merits were immediately recognised. W. D. Bancroft, essor of Physical Chemistry in Cornell, declared that the book "far and away the best of its kind in existence." The present on, completely rewritten, deserves the same eulogium to-day. ; far more inclusive and practical than any textbook—even in nan. Naturally the new edition illustrates Lamarck's law that nisms tend to increase in size. But the authors have rightly ewed the method of the Dinosaurs; they have not allowed sheer to impair functional efficiency. Hence we are not faced with unmanageable avoirdupois of what the Germans, with unconscious our, call a *Handbuch*. The treatment in the two volumes has a sion and a tidiness which is lacking in an Encyclopædia. Only ysicist or chemist who has tried to keep pace with recent literature fully realise the achievement of the two authors, whose task would ther countries be achieved only by a syndicate of specialists such hose that have been producing Beilstein's Organic Chemistry. authors have of course availed themselves of the co-operation of agues and specialists; but the work has remained a unified whole, ook not merely useful for occasional reference on the shelves of a ry but an indispensable companion in study and laboratory. Both authors have had technical experience in addition to academic hing. This is reflected in one of the best characteristics of the k, namely, its attention to practical manipulation and its inclusion opics which are of importance in industrial chemistry. We find, as

an unusual feature, that a hundred pages are devoted to fifteen dis separation processes, from the new technique of evaporative distill to flotation methods. Many of the researches of Prof. Reilly an coworkers in Cork have also provided valuable sections, *e.g.* separa of gases by solution, azeotropic distillation, stability of diazo-compou gas analysis, phase studies.

The book is as useful to physicists as it is to chemists, owin its inclusion of sections on thermometry, optical methods, Ra effect, X-ray crystal analysis, valves, etc. Altogether it would impossible to find anywhere else such a collection of codified prac laboratory information as is contained in this work of 1,300 p with 820 diagrams.

A new and valuable feature of the present edition is the inclu of " Suggestions for Further Reading," which will enable any speci or research student to pursue further the study of any of the to treated in the book.

In their preface the authors hold out the hope that later on t may issue a third, independent but supplementary, volume dea with further advances and also perhaps more in detail with such subj as colloids and micro-methods. It is a pity that there appears exist no institution prepared to subsidise such an undertaking as preparation and issue at regular intervals of further volumes or publication of new issues of what is now definitely the standard textb in English. Meanwhile all physicists and chemists are indebted Messrs. Methuen for their enterprise and to Drs. Reilly and Rae their generous labour, the results of which will be appreciated in ev technical, industrial and university laboratory. A. O'R

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE. By Sir Arth Eddington, O.M., Plumian Professor of Astronomy and E perimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, Tar Lectures, 1938. Cambridge University Press. 1939. 8s. 6d. n

THIS work, giving Eddington's latest philosophical synthesis, is su to arouse great interest among physicists and philosophers. It is fascinating book, showing again the author's incomparable gift expounding very difficult matters as if they were relatively eas In contrast to his earlier book on the Nature of the Physical Univer emphasis in the present book is on the nature of physical knowledg The recent physical advances have not, he says, altered the gener trend of his philosophy, which he calls " Selective Subjectivism and " Structuralism," but have confirmed and extended his view.

The main theme of the book is scientific epistemology—or, th branch of philosophy which deals with the nature of physical knowledg Physical knowledge is the knowledge acquired by the methods

ical science. It takes the form of a detailed description of the ical universe. The physical universe and the physical objects hemselves defined as the theme of a specified kind of knowledge, not as things possessing the property of existence. In this way foundations of physics are freed from the " suspicion of meta- ical contamination."

he comfort we derive from this assurance is rather spoiled by the that if physical knowledge is characterised as knowledge of the ical universe, and the physical universe defined as the theme of ical knowledge, we are being carried round in a circle ; while, if physical universe which is the object of physical knowledge has elation to existence, physical knowledge risks being knowledge othing. The suspicion remains with us that it is because existence mehow smuggled into the physical knowledge, that the latter is nteresting subject for epistemological study. The philosophical ussions on the concept of existence, and on the realist theory of wledge, are the weakest portions of the book, and are not likely rove a deterrent to metaphysicians.

Epistemology and physics have invaded each other, and scientific temology practically changes over into epistemological physics. ern physics has found it useful to adopt an epistemological method. reas the classical physicist studied entities, the modern physicist ies knowledge. " The difference is most strikingly exhibited in lern quantum theory. According to the classical conception of roscopic physics, our task was to discover a system of equations ch connect the positions, motions, etc., of the particles at one ant, with the positions, motions, etc., at a later instant. . . . lern quantum theory has substituted another task, namely to over the equations which connect knowledge of the positions, ions, etc., at one instant with knowledge of the positions, motions, , at a later instant." Wave mechanics deals with a " world " robability-waves : these are not real waves, but knowledge-waves. Physical knowledge is, by definition, observational knowledge. implies, therefore, subjective selection, depending on the sensory intellectual equipment involved in acquiring observational wledge. The universe reached by such observation is what the sicist studies : to it the generalisations of physics, the laws of ure, apply. Besides a posteriori knowledge of the physical universe, ed on study of the results of observation, there is a priori knowledge ed on epistemological study of the procedure of observation.

In the epistemological method, knowledge is the starting point, ner than an entity of which we have to obtain knowledge. The uiry into the necessary conditions for good observation led to the overy of unobservables and corresponding laws ; to a more careful

definition of length and time intervals, and thus to Einstein's the of gravitation; to incorporation of the probability conception in fundamental definitions, and thus to the method of wave mechan

The weighty chapters on "Epistemology and Relativity Theor and "Epistemology and Quantum Theory" show in detail how epistemological method is able to "produce the goods." "It appe that when the epistemological scrutiny of definitions is systematic applied and its consequences are followed up mathematically, we able to determine all the 'fundamental' laws of nature (including purely numerical constants of nature) without any physical hypothesi

It is added: "This means that the fundamental laws and consta of physics are wholly subjective, being the mark of the observe sensory and intellectual equipment on the knowledge obtained throu such equipment." The shock of this pronouncement is considera absorbed by the definitions which hedge in its meaning. The physi universe is a world not of being, but of knowledge. The laws of nat are not the laws of Nature—not laws of governance of the object world. They are subjective in the sense that they are arrived at study of the procedure in observing and, in general, of the "men frame" used in scientific analysis. The sphere of this pure subjectiv is confined to the laws of the physical world. A large part of knowledge of the universe consists of special facts, which are n subjective, or objective.

Physical knowledge is structural knowledge, as opposed to knowled by direct awareness, and knowledge by sympathetic understandi Structural knowledge is, to begin with, knowledge of a pattern structure extracted from sensory impressions; and, in a more sophis cated form, which corresponds to the "mental frame" of advanc science, mathematical group structure. Structural knowledge communicable; and the correspondences of structure point to a comm cause external to individual consciousnesses, or, to an external worl Physical science is the study of the structural knowledge of the extern world; and room is left for a spiritual interpretation of the "something of which the physical universe is only the abstract structure.

A wider outlook is adumbrated. Physical knowledge is not t only kind of knowledge; and knowledge is not the only thing th counts. "In the age of reason, faith yet remains supreme; for reas is one of the articles of faith."

J. S.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Father James, O.M.Cap., M.A Ph.D., D.Litt. London: Burns and Oates. 1939. 6s.

THE debate on the question of Christian Philosophy has almost suddenl reached the proportions of a major engagement. Most of the grea

es, especially in France, have taken a hand in it. Bréhier, nschvicg, Blondel, Gilson, Maritain, Romeyer, Jolivet, Descoqs, have made their contribution to the debate. The *Congressus misticus* of 1937 devoted a section to it. Father James's able well-written book is the latest intervention in the controversy. evident that the question is inevitable once a Revelation is given ; it was the aim—and achievement—of St. Thomas to solve it. e the revival of Scholasticism not much had been heard of it— the reason that Catholic philosophers were over anxious to stress purely rational nature of scholasticism, so as to secure it a better ption from modern thinkers. Father James shows very well once attention became centred on the *desiderium naturale videndi m*, the discussion was bound to come sooner or later. In that the origin of the discussion would be P. Rousselot and after P. Maréchal, who have given such philosophical significance to *desiderium.*

Christian Philosophy as a historical fact must be accepted, especially r M. Gilson's splendid Gifford Lectures *The Spirit of Medieval osophy.* Historically there is a long range of philosophical specula- that is sharply distinguished from ancient and modern philosophy certain evident notes—the transcendent part played by God, the e of the human soul, the importance of the spiritual, etc. Equally ent is it that this distinctive character is due to Christian revelation. the whole difficulty lies in the question of essence or definition. ıot the very notion of a Christian philosophy a contradiction ? Christian, its rule would be Faith ; as a philosophy, it would be on. As well might one speak of Christian mathematics. How d philosophy be aided by Revelation without sacrificing its ntial nature ? Maritain's distinction between the *nature* of osophy and *its historical state,* as practised by those who accepted elation, seems the most satisfactory solution. Fr. James main- s that this answer does not go far enough ; that it succeeds in nguishing but not in uniting ; that the answer will be found only an ultimate synthesis based on the infinite reach of the human lligence.

There are other subjects discussed freshly and suggestively in this c. But they all converge in one direction and are but different cts of one large subject, the integration of Christian thought as a. Too often modern Christian philosophers have made no account heir supernatural destiny and equipment. There is every indication these factors will exert their full influence in future philosophical ght. Father James thinks that this integration of Christian osophy is overdue, and his brilliant book will do much to hasten it.

H. K.

WAS DER SEELSORGER VON NERVOESEN SEELENLEII WISSEN MUSS. Von P. Chrysostomus Schulte, O.M. Lektor und Doktor der Theologie. Dritte Auflage. Paderb Schöningh. 1937.

NERVOUS MENTAL DISEASES. THEIR PASTORAL TRE MENT. By Chrysostomus Schulte, O.M.Cap. Authorised tr lation by Clarence Tschippert, O.M.Cap. With a Foreword James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D. London : Coldwell. 1 10s. 6d.

TRAITE DE PSYCHIATRIE. Psychopathologie, morale, th peutique, direction. Par J. H. Bless, Directeur de l'Inst Psychiatrique, Voorburg. Traduit du Neerlandais par Ghyssaert. 2me édition revue et augmentée. Bruges : Bey 1938. Frs. 35.

Fr. Schulte, or Fr. Chrysostom as he is popularly known in Germa has a high reputation in his own country as an experienced dire of souls. And he has already placed the clergy in his debt by excellent books on Pastoral Theology and Asceticism. Fr. Bles the Rector and Chaplain of the Voorburg Institute near Vugh Holland. The volumes under review are the fruit of a very experience and will be of much assistance to both priests and doct Hitherto, to get even a small fraction of the help given by these bo one had to forage in the volumes of Allers, Lindworski or Gem De Sinety's *Psychopathologie et Direction*, so often quoted by Fr. B is solid and scholarly ; but it made very hard reading. Of book be had in English, Fr. Raymond's " Spiritual Director and Physici is rather out of date and Fr. Gearon's " Scruples " touches onl section of the vast material. The other books mentioned in the Eng bibliography of Fr. Tschippert's translation are little known in th countries.

Both authors aim at putting the findings of modern psychol and psychiatry at the disposal of the director of souls. They pl for a closer collaboration of priest and psychiatrist in the handlin psychic suffering, and Fr. Schulte devotes a special chapter to discussion of the question : In what measure is the priest compet and in what measure the doctor ? Both too insist on prudence. " Cha cas est à traiter individuellement " runs like a refrain through Bless's pages : and Fr. Schulte's Amen to that is so emphatic that prints it in capitals on the last page : Please Handle Carefully ! T steer an even course between those who profess an open contempt modern psychology and those who swallow without discernment its dicta. That there are many of the latter is proved by the la sales of the many pseudo-psychological magazines. (There are least a half-a-dozen in circulation even in Ireland). To allay possi

ions, it may be well to state that both authors have little good y of psychoanalysis. Fr. Bless quotes with approval the state- s of E. Fiedler and Fr. Salsmans, S.J. : " Le Freud popularisé ısé plus de torts que des tonnes de mauvais livres " and " Le e ne doit pas étudier les livres de Freud." Fr. Schulte is no mphatic : " The use of psychoanalytical treatment of the mentally sed should be positively forbidden to the confessor." And he (though the passage has been omitted in the English translation) it is very much to be desired on pastoral grounds that doctors should, as a matter of principle, avoid its use.

r. Schulte's main chapters are on Psychic Compulsion, Morbid ession Phenomena, Neurasthenia, Hysteria and Abulia. For he gives the causes, symptoms and pastoral treatment ; and he rates his theory by a vast number of actual cases—in fact, the r almost gets lost in their multiplicity. It is rather a pity that itions of the terms used are not given, at least in the English on. " Special scientific terms," we are promised in the preface, l be self-explanatory through the context." The promise was to fulfil in German than in English. Words for instance *hemmungslos* are self-explanatory, especially in their context. doubt if the same can be said of the corresponding " unin- ed."

is here that Fr. Bless comes to our aid. He uses no scientific that he does not define. His work is more in the nature of a book : there is very little in modern psychiatry of interest to the t that is not touched on in its two hundred odd pages. He has inly the gift of presenting his knowledge in tabloid form ; though mes compression gains at the expense of clarity, as in his one-page sition of Heymans's theory of character. But, with Fr. Schulte's e book," his volume will be of very great utility.

r. Tschippert's translation is excellent. One might perhaps rel with his rather formal rendering of the more homely—if rather vard—German title and with his translation of *Seelenleiden* by ntal diseases." It is of course quite defensible ; but Fr. Schulte at times make the distinction between *Geisteskrankheiten* and *nleiden*. (Fr. Bless devotes two pages to justifying *his* preference " maladie psychique " to " maladie mentale "). One wonders at the omission of a number of passages in the translation. It be that the first or second German edition was used ; but no anation is given.

Both books abound in wise comments and practical hints for essors and retreat-givers. We have much pleasure in recommend- hem to all charged with the cure of souls.

D. O'S.

Books Received

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CRISENOY, MARIA DE. Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza. (Spes, 15 fr.).
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MURPHY, T. A. Holy Hours for the Foreign Missions. (Gill, 1/–).
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